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THE FRENCH-CANADIAN SEIGNEURY

E. R. ADAIR

TO the Frenchmen who came to New France, the river Saint Lawrence was the very centre of their existence. To the early fishermen and explorers it had for a short time seemed to be the road to Cathay, a northern route through that obstinate continent of America that would lead them to the fabulous wealth of the East. This hope, however, was soon abandoned, for Jacques Cartier proved that it was not an ocean strait, but the estuary of a mighty river whose navigation for sea-going vessels ended at the Lachine rapids. But this disappointment did not mean that the river and its estuary were disregarded: to the fishermen who frequented the waters off Newfoundland, the shores of this estuary provided many convenient points of call where they could meet the Indians who had brought down their furs for trade, a profitable addition to the revenue gained from catching and selling cod, though it was to diminish very considerably as the Indians and their furs were diverted to the trading posts of Tadoussac and Quebec. It was to the real settlers in New France, however, that the St. Lawrence was most vital, for it provided the easiest means of communication, by water in spring, summer, and autumn, and, to a lesser degree, over the ice in winter. Therefore when a seigneurie was granted it was always given a river frontage; how far inland it went was, in the early days, almost immaterial, but there must be access to a river, usually to the St. Lawrence, though for rather special reasons some early grants were made setting up seigneuries along the valley of the Richelieu.¹

The first thing a seigneur had to do, if he intended to carry out the terms of his grant, which always insisted that he must clear his land and bring at least some of it under cultivation, was to secure tenant farmers—habitants—who would each of them receive a concession from the seigneur, on condition of living on the land and slowly turning it into a profitable farm. Like his seigneur, however, every tenant demanded that his concession should have a frontage on the river; and if, as was quite common, on his death his sons divided his land so that each might have a share, the division was almost always made by cutting the grant of land into long vertical

¹Ivanhoë Caron, *La Colonisation de la province de Québec* (Quebec, 1923-7), I, 33. There was also before the end of the French régime a little settlement in Beauce.

strips, each one running back from the river; in this way each son could build his house possibly facing on the river road, but certainly close to the St. Lawrence. The result of this was that by the beginning of the nineteenth century many French-Canadian farms in the St. Lawrence valley were just very long, very narrow ribbons of land running inland from the river's edge. As the farmhouses had naturally been built overlooking the river, the traveller on the high road got the impression, not of journeying from one village to the next, but rather of passing down one enormously long village street; even today this same impression is felt by the motorist driving along the north shore road from Montreal to Quebec.

If in 1691 the Intendant Champigny can report that nothing would be better for the safety of the inhabitants and the good of the country than to organize it in villages and surround each with cleared land to prevent surprise by their enemies, by 1690 he has changed his opinion and apparently sees no need to disapprove of the rather curious pattern of settlement along the St. Lawrence: "Les habitants . . . sont . . . presque tous placés sur le bord de la rivière (Saint-Laurent), où ils ont quelque pêche; et leur maison étant au milieu du devant de leur terre, qui se trouve par conséquent derrière et aux deux côtés d'eux. Comme ils n'ont point à s'éloigner pour la faire valoir . . . ils ont en cela de très grandes facilités pour faire leurs travaux."² But if Champigny was satisfied, there were officials in Paris who saw a real danger in this form of settlement; as early as 1663 in the instructions given by the King of France to Sieur Gaudais, his special commissioner sent out to investigate conditions in New France, it is clearly laid down that "il n'y a rien de si grande conséquence que de travailler à réunir les dits habitants en des corps de paroisses ou bourgades, et à les obliger à défricher leurs terres de proche en proche." The instructions go on to say that it will be impossible ever to hold the country unless the habitants are forced to abandon their scattered concessions and group themselves in *bourgades* or small concentrated villages, with the land cleared all round each village in order to render it safe from attack. The King even suggested that this sort of settlement might have to be imposed by a general revocation and regranting of all concessions of land;³ there is no doubt that Louis XIV was thinking of establishing in Canada the sort of village that was to be found every-

²*Rapport de l'Archiviste de . . . Québec*, 1939-40, 299, Champigny: Memoir on Canada, May 12, 1691; p. 350, Champigny to Minister, Oct. 20, 1699.

³*Edits et ordonnances royaux, declarations et arrêts du Conseil d'état du Roi concernant Canada* (Quebec, 2nd ed., 1854-6), III, 23-7, King's Instructions to Sieur Gaudais, May 7, 1663.

where throughout France. In fact, however, nothing was done and settlement in the St. Lawrence valley continued in its accustomed way. But this did not mean that the government at home in France was satisfied with this state of affairs: in 1698 the Minister, Pontchartrain, writing to Le Roy de la Potherie, Controller-General in Canada, suggested that it seemed necessary to regroup the settlers in *bourgs fermés* and so diminish the necessity for so many priests to minister to the colonists' spiritual needs. As it was, the colonists were so scattered that there were not enough clergy in New France to serve them all; moreover if fewer clergy were employed, the royal grant of 8,000 livres made in order to supplement their inadequate salaries could be reduced, a point that the King was always stressing. But this was not the only reason why Pontchartrain recommended assembling the habitants in compact villages: there they would be safer from attack by their Indian enemies; also they would be easier to police and to govern by the King's officials at Quebec, who had been complaining of their independence and lack of obedience to orders.⁴ Again very little was done; geographical conditions prevented the establishment of the compact village so common in France. The small deviations from the French-Canadian pattern of settlement that did appear were definitely designed and imposed by the voice of authority at Quebec.

There were in fact two attempts made by the government to set up in New France the sort of village they preferred. The first was the work of that very practical idealist, the Intendant Jean Talon. About 1665 Talon is writing that the creation of such villages is the only way to insure that French Canadians "*s'entrevoient souvent, s'entre-connaissent, s'entraiment, s'entre-secourent plus aisément.*" Such villages could be easily defended against Iroquois invasions, their inhabitants could be more efficiently served by a resident priest, a group of villages could have a resident judge and a resident doctor, while a single shepherd could look after the stock when it was out at pasture. Talon picked as the site of his experiment a stretch of land a little north of Quebec and lying within the Jesuits' seigneurie of Notre-Dame-des-Anges. The Jesuits naturally objected, but Talon, in the name of the King, expropriated the land, and there seemed very little that the Jesuits could do about it. On this land and within the limits of the parish of Charlesbourg, Talon established three compact villages, Bourg-Royal, Bourg-la-Reine, and Bourg-Talon; and the Jesuits planned their village of Charlesbourg

⁴*Rapport de l'Archiviste de . . . Québec, 1939-40, 339-40, Mémoire de Pontchartrain au sieur Le Roy de la Potherie, May, 1698.*

along similar lines. Talon intended to settle in each village not only some of the new colonists whom Louis XIV and Colbert were shipping out from France, but also some soldiers released from the regiment of Carignan-Salières, and a few older settlers who would teach by example and precept the nicer points of Canadian farming, while the soldiers provided the trained nucleus of a local militia. Talon also hoped that a few artisans might settle in each village alongside of the farmers. The farmhouses were built around a central square; here also stood the parish church. From this village as centre the farmlands spread out, as Sir Thomas Chapais says, like the leaves in a fan, of which the ends were cut off at right angles; this gives them a triangular shape with the farmhouse situated at the end that faced on the village square. Bouchette writing in 1832 notices that Charlesbourg is something different from what he had observed elsewhere in the St. Lawrence valley, for, as he points out, the houses are grouped around a centrally placed church. Today Bourg-Talon has vanished, and the other two villages have been absorbed into Charlesbourg, but it is still possible to observe the arrangement of farms and houses described above.⁵ No further villages were founded by Talon, and after his recall to France, the whole idea was abandoned.

The second and last attempt to create compact villages in New France comes at the end of the French régime. On January 15, 1753, Governor Duquesne and Intendant Bigot announced that they were proposing to establish a village named Château-Richer in the middle of the parishes of the côte de Beaupré; they were doing this at the request of the Quebec Seminary who were the local seigneurs. The reasons given for this action are very interesting; the *ordonnance* points out that as there are no villages in this area, there are very few artisans, and there are no shops to provide the habitant farmers with the tools and other things that they need; therefore they have to go to Quebec to buy their agricultural implements or even just to get them repaired, and the journey there and back wastes a good deal of time that might have been given to clearing the land or work on the farm. There must have been some criticism of this proposal, for care is taken to stress the fact that, instead of hindering the farmer's work, it would be of benefit to him by saving him time and money; this would be especially true in the spring and autumn when the rising waters of the Mont-

⁵Sir T. Chapais, *Jean Talon* (Toronto, 1914), 93-9, 158-65, 274-5; Joseph Bouchette, *A Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada* (London, 1832), under heading of Notre-Dame-des-Anges.

morency made the journey to Quebec difficult and sometimes dangerous.⁶

This idea seems to have attracted a good deal of favourable attention, for a few months later the Quebec Seminary were petitioning for permission to found a village at the east end of the Isle Jésus; they emphasize the time wasted in going to Montreal for the things that the villagers need, and add that they hope that this village might serve as an entrepot for the goods of the district and even for goods coming up the river from Quebec. Their request was granted on August 25, 1753.⁷ On February 15, 1754, the seigneur of St. Michel-de-la-Durantaye received permission to establish a *Bourg* in his seigneurie; his request had been supported by the same reasons as had moved Duquesne and Bigot a year earlier.⁸ The *curé*, *capitaine*, and other inhabitants of St. Pierre-du-Portage appear to have felt much the same way when they petitioned two months later for the establishment of a village in their parish where artisans could come and live.⁹ For a time petitions on this subject cease; then in March, 1757, the seigneur of Soulanges petitions for a *Bourg* on his seigneurie, and is followed in May, 1758, by the Seigneur de Contrecoeur making the same request for Saint-Denis on the Richelieu.¹⁰ Obviously conditions and therefore opinions in New France were changing: roads were being built and the St. Lawrence was no longer almost the only highway through the province; the economic disadvantages of the long string of farmhouses were beginning to be realized; and especially the need was being felt in the rural districts for competent artisans who, as they were not farmers, wanted a village in which they could live and practise their specialized skills in order to earn a reasonably good livelihood. It is also possible that there was some pressure from the authorities at Quebec in favour of villages that might be more easily defended against English attack. But these rather artificial attempts to set up compact villages during the last seven years of the French régime came too late to alter the influence that the earlier pattern of settlement had exercised on the seigneurie, the parish, and the

⁶*Edits et ordonnances*, II, 410-11, *Ordonnance* of Duquesne and Bigot, Jan. 15, 1753.

⁷*Ibid.*, II, 412-13, *Ordonnance* on petition from Seminary of Quebec, Aug. 25, 1753.

⁸*Ibid.*, II, 414, *Ordonnance* on petition of the seigneur of St. Michel-de-la-Durantaye, Feb. 15, 1754.

⁹*Ibid.*, II, 415, *Ordonnance* on petition from Parish of St. Pierre-du-Portage, March 18, 1754.

¹⁰*Edits et ordonnances*, II, 419-20, *Ordonnances* on petitions from the seigneur of Soulanges, March 10, 1757, and the Seigneur de Contrecoeur, May 17, 1758.

village community. It is true that Talon's experiment came much earlier, but outside the little group of villages he had created, it seems to have had no effect whatsoever on the development of New France.

This peculiar method of settlement of seigneuries and farms in New France is of the greatest importance in explaining why there is so considerable a difference between the French-Canadian parish and the French-Canadian seigneurie on the one hand and the same institutions in old France on the other; and what may be even more interesting, it does in part help one to understand the virtual non-existence in French Canada of the village community and of its organ, the village assembly.

In France during the early middle ages the local seigneur was the only person who could bring order and some measure of protection out of the chaos that went hand in hand with the barbarian invasions and the pressure on western Europe that they produced. Indeed much of the feudal relationship was the result of this need for military protection which only the local lord with his fortified castle could provide; and the small farmer, to gain that protection, was of necessity forced to accept all sorts of obligations and often to enter into a state of complete dependence on his lord. It was only with the gradual emergence of some degree of order, and especially with the growth of the power of the sovereign and with his determination to maintain the king's law and the king's peace, that there appeared a sharp decline in the local importance of the seigneur or lord, and a growing inability on his part to force his tenants to remain in such a dependent position.

In New France the early settlers lived in a state of acute danger; that they had often brought this on themselves by their treatment of the Indians, and that much of this feeling of danger was imaginary, except in the case of very isolated farms, is not really important; the important thing is that most of the settlers were honestly convinced that this serious danger really existed. Therefore it might reasonably be expected that the habitant, as in mediaeval France, would look to his seigneur for protection, and that in return the seigneur would exact considerable services and payments—in other words that a new feudalism would arise across the Atlantic. In fact, some authors have talked of French-Canadian feudalism, and the English officials who were ruling New France after the conquest often thought that they were dealing with a feudal relationship, which would give the seigneurs power over their tenants and in return would guarantee the tenants' loyalty to their natural leaders.

Nothing was farther from the truth, and the real state of affairs was by no means simply the result of the strength of the royal authority, operating through the king's officials at Quebec. The seventeenth century undoubtedly saw the King of France powerful at home and determined to destroy the local authority of his over-mighty subjects, but that power would have been very difficult to enforce along the shores of the distant St. Lawrence. The truth is that there was no need to make the attempt to enforce it, for the local authority of the seigneur, if not entirely negligible, represented nothing that would alarm the King or royal officials. What were the reasons for this?

In the first place the seigneurs of New France rarely possessed the prestige that resulted from noble birth and inherited rank; in only a few instances had they belonged to a noble family in France, and the grant of a seigneurie was not accompanied by the grant of nobility. Most of the seigneurs came from middle class families in France, a few from the lower class. Nor did they enjoy the local distinction that might have come from military leadership. It is true, of course, that some of them gained a distinguished military reputation in the wars against the English but it was not as leaders of their tenants; the men who followed them in their raids were usually either volunteers or men placed under their command by the Governor of New France. The man who commanded the tenants of a seigneurie was the *capitaine de la côte, de la milice*, or even *de la paroisse*; this last description shows, as in France, how common was the confusion of the parish with the seigneurie. The *capitaine* was appointed by the Governor of New France,¹¹ but he really did more work for the Intendant than for the Governor; for the Governor he keeps a muster-roll of all adult males in the seigneurie, forms them into companies, sees that they get such military instruction as is practicable, and commands them when they are called upon to fight; and it must be remembered that this service had nothing to do with any feudal obligation to follow their lord in battle; there was no such obligation in New France. It was, as in France, the king through his governor who was demanding that this service be enforced by the *capitaine*, a service which was required from every able-bodied man between the ages of sixteen and sixty.

For the Intendant the *capitaine* acts as representative and executive officer: it is his job to see that decrees sent down from Quebec are made known throughout the seigneurie, and, in so far as they

¹¹See letter of Intendant Raudot to Minister, Nov. 10, 1707, printed in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques* (1925), 184.

concern the seigneurie, that they are fully carried out; he supervises the making of roads, repairing of bridges, or collecting of supplies for the army in time of war; he is supposed to see to the lodging and transportation of officials when they pass through the seigneurie; and above all he must keep the Intendant informed as to local conditions and the opinions and grievances of his fellow habitants.¹²

Of course in theory the seigneur was the most important man in the seigneurie: the *capitaine* was always second to the seigneur in those honours which the church granted him—the most imposing pew in church, on the right-hand side and four feet from the altar rails, the right to follow immediately behind the *curé* in all religious processions, the right to be the first layman to receive the sacrament and the *pain bénit*, or to be sprinkled with holy water.¹³ All these added to the seigneur's dignity, but the habitants knew quite well that though the *capitaine* might rank after the seigneur in these honours, he, and not the seigneur, was the man whom the government trusted to see that in material matters all went well in the seigneurie. And of his importance the government was well aware: in November, 1707, the Intendant Raudot wrote to the Minister in Paris, urging him to confer upon the *capitaines* still more authority and more prestige, even suggesting that each should receive a salary of one hundred livres per annum. His suggestions do not appear to have been accepted, for three years later he sums up the situation rather neatly: "Ayant été informé du peu de considération que l'on a dans les Côtes pour les capitaines de milice auxquels on ne donne nulles distinctions quoiqu'ils en méritent bien, et par l'honneur qu'ils ont de commander les habitants pour aller en guerre et pour toutes les autres choses pour lesquelles ils sont commandés, et aussi pour l'exécution de nos ordonnances que nous sommes quasi toujours obligé de leur adresser, ce qui leur cause souvent de la dépense et

¹²G. Malchelosse, "Milice et troupes de la Marine en Nouvelle-France" in *Les Cahiers de Dix*, XIV, 121-2; W. B. Munro, *Documents Relating to the Seigniorial Tenure in Canada* (Champlain Society, 1908), 94; P. G. Roy, "La Paroisse et l'habitant canadien" in the *Catholic Historical Review*, XVIII, no. 4 (Jan., 1933), 485; D. A. Heneker, *The Seigniorial Regime in Canada* (Montreal 1926), 225. I have kept the French title in order to distinguish him from the ordinary militia captains of the English régime.

¹³C. de Bonnault, "La Vie religieuse dans les paroisses rurales canadiennes au XVIII^e siècle" in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XL (1934), 658; *Edits et ordonnances*, I, 354, Order of King, April 27, 1716; II, 155-6, Order of Council, July 8, 1709; pp. 365-6, Order of Intendant, April 19, 1734; p. 465, Order of Intendant, July 9, 1721; p. 542, Order of Intendant to inhabitants of Saint-François, Jan. 17, 1737. What is still the best account of the *capitaine* during the French régime was written by G. Lanctot in the *Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1926, 40-2.

leur fait perdre beaucoup de tems qu'ils employeroient utilement pour eux"; therefore Raudot ordered that they should receive the *pain bénit* before any other habitant, and should always be placed in processions immediately after the *marguilliers*, who owed their precedence to their semi-ecclesiastical office.¹⁴ Gédéon de Catalogne, reporting on November 7, 1712, on his survey of the seigneuries of New France, naturally leans somewhat to the side of the seigneur, and to what he regarded as a seemly ordering of life, whether on the banks of the Seine or of the St. Lawrence. He deplores the fact that the subordination of vassal to seigneur is not properly observed, and sees in this the result of granting seigneuries to common people who have had no experience in maintaining their rights; he goes on to say that "mesme les officiers de milice qui leur sont dépendans n'ont la pluspart aucun esgard pour leur superiorité et veulent dans les occasions passer pour indépendans."¹⁵ But the government did not waver in its belief in the importance of the *capitaine*: in 1737 Intendant Hocquart in a memoir to the Minister writes that it is difficult keeping the country people in a proper condition of subordination, and for this purpose it is most important to chose as *capitaines de côte* the wisest habitants and those most capable of seeing that orders are obeyed; the government should give them every attention necessary to maintain them in their authority.¹⁶

Of course it was not uncommon for the seigneur and the *curé* to be joined with the *capitaine* in carrying out or supervising some small matter for the Intendant; the important point was that the *capitaine* was being used as the local agent of the government all the time, while the others were put on those committees where the positions they occupied would make their opinions of special value; the *curé*, for example, could hardly be omitted from a committee which was to deal with something that concerned the church. But there is no doubt that it was the *capitaine* and not the seigneur who was trusted by the government to see that the seignury was kept in proper order.

Nor did the administration of justice contribute much to the seigneur's prestige. It is true that most of them had been granted

¹⁴*Edits et ordonnances*, II, 275, *Ordonnance* of Intendant Jacques Raudot, June 25, 1710; *Rapport de l'Archiviste de . . . Québec*, 1940-1, 406, Raudot to Pontchartrain, Nov. 10, 1707.

¹⁵Munro, *Documents Relating to the Seigniorial Tenure in Canada*, 149, Report of Gédéon de Catalogne on the Seigneuries and Districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, Nov. 7, 1712.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 186, Memoir of Hocquart to Minister, Nov. 8, 1737.

the right of *haute, moyenne et basse justice*, but these were little more than fine words. The seigneur was supposed to provide a professional judge, as in France, and a prison in which criminals could be kept until their trial; it is safe to say that the provision of either of these was very rare indeed, and that the seigneurs never exercised their right of *haute justice*, which meant the trial of any civil or criminal offender, no matter how serious his crime. Trials that came under the head of *moyenne justice* were almost as rare, and the seigneur usually confined himself to *basse justice*, the settlement of the occasional petty theft or local squabble, or some minor dispute over seigneurial dues; the amount at issue, and the fine that might be imposed, must not exceed sixty *sols*. Writing to Shelburne on April 12, 1768, Carleton sums up the situation pretty accurately:

Some of the privileges contained in the seigniorial grants appear to convey dangerous powers into the hands of the seigniors, but upon a more minute inquiry these were found to be really little less than ideal. The "*haute, moyenne, et basse justice*" are terms of high import, but even under the French government were so corrected as to prove of little significance to the proprietors. . . . as the keeping of their own judges became much too burthensome for the scanty incomes of the Canadian seigniors, it was grown into so general a disuse that there were hardly three of them in the whole province at the time of the conquest.¹⁷

The administration of justice did not do much to add to the income or strengthen the position of the seigneur in New France.

But the relative unimportance of the seigneur was not due solely to the fact that he was often of little better birth than his tenant farmers, or that he lacked the feudal prestige of leading his tenants to war, or of administering justice in his own court, or that the *capitaine* was more in the government's confidence than he was, his economic position was just as important a factor. In the first place it must have been obvious to the habitants that they were needed by the seigneur much more than he was needed by them; as early as 1679 the Intendant Duchesneau is complaining "*que la plus grande partie des concessions faites en Canada était demeurée inutile aux propriétaires, faute d'hommes et de bestiaux pour les défricher et les mettre en valeur.*"¹⁸ Notwithstanding the very considerable influx of potential farmers brought over by the policy of Louis XIV and Colbert, and notwithstanding the very marked natural increase in the population of New France during the

¹⁷Heneker, *The Seigniorial Regime in Canada*, 207-19; Carleton's letter is quoted on pp. 218-19.

¹⁸Quoted in I. Caron, *La Colonisation du Canada sous la domination française* (Quebec, 1916), 25.

eighteenth century, there never were enough tenants to satisfy the demand. Without tenants the seignury was of no value to the seigneur, unless he had acquired it as a mere speculation and with a view to future sale; and if he did not have farmers to help him clear his land, as his concession required, in the eighteenth century at any rate, he was in considerable danger of having his grant revoked.¹⁹ Moreover in many cases the seigneur was little better off than the more prosperous of his tenants. It is true that they paid him rent but that was rarely sufficient to permit him to live a life of distinguished idleness; of the annual *cens et rentes*, *cens* was a mere token payment of very little value, and the *rentes* were never oppressive and were often much lighter than might reasonably have been expected. *Rentes* could be paid in money or in produce or in both. Moreover the amount to be paid was settled at the time of the grant of land to the habitant, and could not be altered by the seigneur until the grant expired; if it were not so settled the seigneur had to be content to receive no more than what was the customary rent on surrounding seigneuries. *Lods et ventes* were larger, but they were not annual payments, only occasional ones; they were levied whenever the land changed hands by sale, gift, or inheritance that was not in the direct line; they might amount to one-twelfth of the value of the farm, though normally a smaller sum was accepted.²⁰

Nor did such feudal privileges, such *banalités* as the seigneur succeeded in retaining prove of much profit to him. In the relatively few instances where the *droit de chasse* was exercised, it seems to have provoked none of those bitter complaints from the farmers that it produced in France. There was never any question of using the lord's winepress; he did not own one. Nor was there much question of baking the tenant's bread at the seigneurial oven; the distance from one end of the village to the other, as already described, and, above all, the sternness of the Canadian winter, made any such thing practically impossible.²¹ Probably to the modern eye the compulsion to use the lord's mill was the one *banalité* that ought to have added to the seigneur's income; in fact it did nothing of the kind. In the first place it must be remembered that, during the

¹⁹The first royal order that had any real effect in this matter was contained in the famous *arrêts de Marly* of 1711, but the Council at Quebec consisted largely of seigneurs and they were not very enthusiastic in enforcing this regulation. See also Heneker, *The Seigniorial Regime in Canada*, 103-8, 181-9.

²⁰Heneker, *The Seigniorial Regime in Canada*, 146-50. J. E. Roy in his *Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon* (Levis, 1897-1904), IV, 264, says one-fifth of the purchase price, but this is much too high to be usual.

²¹Intendant Raudot to the Minister, Nov. 10, 1707, quoted in Heneker, *The Seigniorial Regime in Canada*, 427.

French régime, it was usually the tenants who clamoured for the lord to be ordered to construct a mill, while the lord sought every excuse to evade his feudal responsibility in this matter. The reason for this can be seen when as early as 1667 a group of seigneurs is found complaining that a mill costs double or even treble what it does in France, for construction, for repair, and for maintenance; possibly to answer this complaint, the Council ordered that the price for grinding grain should be one-fourteenth of the value of the grain ground.²² But still the seigneurs failed to build any mills, partly because they looked like a very bad investment, but mainly because most lords were too poor to provide the necessary capital. Therefore the King's Council on June 4, 1686, issued an order that, if a seigneur did not build a mill on his seigneurie within a year, he would lose his banal right, that is his right to the monopoly of grinding his tenants' grain.²³ The Council at Quebec failed to see that this order was published—after all several of the Council members were seigneurs, and their leader was the Sieur d'Auteuil, a man who always had a very keen eye on his own selfish interests. As a natural result very few mills were built, and it was not until the coming of the energetic Intendant Raudot that the omission was remedied and the order published; in his letter to the Minister of November 10, 1707, he makes the situation perfectly clear, and he had in fact as early as June of that year informed Sieur Dupré, Seigneur of Mille-Îles, who had admitted that he could not build a mill, that he must lose his banal right and permit the habitants to construct one of their own.

After Raudot ceased to be intendant in 1712, enthusiasm for enforcing the edict steadily diminished; not many new mills were built, but seigneurs were allowed to retain their banal right, so that, when mills began to show profits, they could either build one themselves, and compel their tenants to use it, or collect a regular fine for permitting their tenants to take their grain to a non-seigneurial mill. This question of profits did not, however, arise to any great degree during the French régime. Before 1763 the amount of grain for consumption or for sale that was produced was small, so it can hardly be said that the *banalité* of the mill added much to the income or the prestige of the seigneur; he was in most cases lucky if the money received from the operation of his mill was sufficient to pay the miller's wages.²⁴ But even though towards the

²²*Edits et ordonnances*, II, 39, Order of Council, June 20, 1667.

²³*Ibid.*, I, 255-6, Order of King, June 4, 1686.

²⁴*Edits et ordonnances*, II, 427, Order of Intendant, June 14, 1707; Raudot to the Minister, Nov. 10, 1707, printed in Heneker, *The Seigneurial Regime in Canada*,

end of the French régime, and especially after 1763, when the population began to increase quite rapidly, the seigneur was getting more money from his mill because of the increased number of farmers who were obliged to grind their grain there, the prospect was not as bright from the seigneur's point of view as might have been expected; the reason was that the tenant was bound to have ground at the seigneur's mill only the grain needed for his own and his family's consumption; any that was going to be sold could be ground wherever was most convenient to the farmer. The seigneur does seem to have gained a little more profit, however, from the fact that in New France the legal interpretation of "grain" was that it meant not merely wheat but any sort of grain that the farmer might grow. After the conquest the value of the banal right steadily increased, and the extent of the lord's right was one of the matters that had to be taken into consideration when compensation was being granted in the middle of the nineteenth century for the abolition of seigniorial privileges. As late as 1822 the Court of King's Bench decided that, as the Sulpicians were the seigneurs of the island of Montreal, they had the sole right of erecting a windmill on the island, and William Fleming who had built one at Lachine must pull it down; this is good evidence that mills were no longer a burden to their owners; instead they were making profits.²⁵

One other problem the seigneur might be asked to solve—the lack of water power on his seignury; some of the lords found their answer in a windmill. While the tenants probably thought that this was better than no mill at all, they did not like windmills, largely because, when there was no wind, no wheat could be ground, and this meant an annoying delay. According to the Custom of Paris the seigneur's right of *banalité* did not extend to windmills, but to the Council at Quebec the need for mills seemed sufficiently great for them to declare that the seigneur's privilege covered all mills, windmills as well as watermills; but they tried to meet the tenants' legitimate grievance by ordering that if the grain was not ground within forty-eight hours, they could take it to any mill they pleased.²⁶ This sort of delay was not confined to windmills, the mills driven by

429–30; W. B. Munro, *The Seigniorial System in Canada* (Cambridge, Mass., 1907), pp. 104–21; Heneker, *The Seigniorial Regime in Canada*, 113–28, 189–93.

²⁵*Edits et ordonnances*, III, 324, Order of Intendant, March 12, 1738; W. B. Munro, *The Seigniorial System in Canada*, 117–19; O. Maurault, *Marges d'histoire* (Montreal, 1929–30), III, 122–24.

²⁶*Edits et ordonnances*, II, 63, Order of Council, July 1, 1675; Munro, *The Seigniorial System in Canada*, 109–15. This may mean two waits of twenty-four hours each, instead of one of forty-eight.

water power were sometimes just as bad; usually this was the result of the mill's breaking down because necessary repairs had not been carried out, the seigneur being either too unwilling or too poor to pay for them; but by the end of the eighteenth century, it was sometimes due to the miller's having more wheat to grind than he could conveniently manage, for unless they were prepared to pay a fine to the seigneur, the habitants were still obliged to take their wheat to the one seigneurial mill, and the number of farms on most seigneuries was steadily increasing. Occasionally there were complaints that the mill was worn out and inefficient, and that therefore the amount of flour produced from a given quantity of grain was too small; to such a complaint the authorities at Quebec were almost always sympathetic, and allowed the habitants to take their wheat to other mills until the seigneurial one was put right. It is indeed fair to say that normally in cases concerning mills, the courts, the intendant, even the king himself favoured the habitant as against the seigneur.

Several important consequences flow from these facts. In the first place during the French régime there were very few complaints from the habitant about the monopoly enjoyed by the seigneurial mills, while in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such mills were definitely disliked. The reason for this difference was, of course, that in Canada a mill was absolutely necessary for the habitant's prosperity, and however poor he might be, the seigneur was the only man who could be forced to build one. It is true that most seigneurs derived no income from their mills, and were in fact often obliged to continue running them even though they were losing money; this compulsion was largely due to the government's legal attitude towards the seigneurial mill in New France, an attitude that was quite different from that adopted in old France, or at any rate in that part of France that was subject to the Custom of Paris. A judgment of the Council at Quebec in 1675, and a royal order of 1686 made it quite clear that the possession of a seigneurie in New France automatically involved the obligation on the seigneur's part to erect a mill; the Custom of Paris on the other hand held that such a right—not an obligation—required a special grant independent of the grant of land. As a natural result of this, the royal order of 1686, as mentioned above, ordered every Canadian seigneur on pain of losing his banal right to build a mill within one year of receiving his seigneurie; there was no such compulsion in France under the Custom of Paris. Moreover, as we have seen, while the Custom of Paris refused to permit a windmill to be con-

sidered a banal mill, the authorities in Canada were perfectly ready to accept a windmill, in default of anything better, as fulfilling the seigneurial obligation.²⁷ The reason for these differences can easily be seen: throughout the French régime New France was living under frontier conditions, or, if it be preferred, under conditions somewhat similar to those of France in the early middle ages, but with this vital difference, that there were fairly strong and efficient representatives of the Crown at Quebec who did not regard the seigneurs as people to be given authority, or even greatly to be encouraged, except in so far as they acted as agents or intermediaries in the development of New France. Their usefulness lay in their getting habitants to take up land, clear it, and cultivate it; and any sign of oppression on the part of the seigneur was frowned on by the government, which knew only too well how the lure of an adventurous life in the woods could turn a good farmer into a *coureur de bois*.

Therefore it may be said that during the French régime few lords made a profit out of their seigneurial mill, and most of them found it an expensive nuisance to keep the mill in repair and to secure a competent miller to do the work; pressure from the habitants might well seem to be at the root of the seigneur's troubles. This sort of relationship did not do much to instil respect for the seigneur into his tenants' mind.

The other *banalités* which he might enjoy were neither important nor of much profit, and they certainly could not be described as oppressive. The only possible exception to this was the right of demanding *corvée*, or forced labour. This could be required by the seigneur only when it was specifically mentioned in the grant made to the tenant; it could not be automatically demanded by him just because he was seigneur, as was the case with the seigneurial mill. Moreover it was rarely more than six days' labour that was required, and Intendant Bégon, when he regulated its incidence in 1714, seems to imply that the seigneurial *corvée* was usually not more than three days per annum; in addition Bégon ordered that it must not be asked for all at one time—and that probably the busiest time for the habitant—but spread out a day at a time over spring, summer, and autumn. This must not be confused with the King's *corvée* which might be exacted at any time for the building or repair of roads and bridges; the extent of this *corvée* was controlled by the

²⁷*Edits et ordonnances*, I, 255-6, Order of King, June 4, 1686; II, 62-3, Order of Council; Heneker, *The Seigneurial Regime in Canada*, 114-23; Munro, *The Seigneurial System in Canada*, 120-1.

Grand Voyer, and its execution was usually supervised by the local *capitaine*. During the French régime there was little that could be called oppressive about the seigneurial *corvée*, and it appears likely that the royal *corvée* was more disliked by the habitant.²⁸

All this makes it clear that the economic position of most seigneurs was not particularly good, that they made enough to feed and clothe themselves and their families after a modest fashion, but certainly not enough to justify any splendour or any extravagant way of living; and to achieve even this modest sufficiency they had to stay on their seigneuries and work nearly as hard and as continuously as did their tenants. There were very few absentee landlords, and the pictures that have been drawn of any considerable number of seigneurs cutting splendid figures at Quebec, and turning it into a "little Versailles" arise largely from the wishful thinking of their nineteenth-century descendants. On the other hand the tenant farmers, as they slowly cleared and cultivated more of their land, found their economic position steadily improving; they did not become wealthy, but they were certainly not oppressed by either the seigneur or the authorities at Quebec. The one factor that stood in the way of their prosperity was the constantly recurring war against the English that took them away from their fields, and this of course came to an end after 1763.

If anything were needed to prove how little available capital the French-Canadian seigneur possessed, the controversial question of church patronage would do it. In May, 1679, the King issued an edict by which any seigneur who provided the land and the money for building a church should, as was the case in France, be called the "Patron fondateur" and should enjoy in perpetuity the right of presenting to the ordinary or bishop, whenever a vacancy should occur, the clergyman whom he wished to be appointed to the parish as *curé*; the ordinary was, however, to make the first nomination to the new church.²⁹ There is no doubt whatsoever but that the seigneurs would esteem this privilege very highly and would strain every nerve to qualify themselves by building a church in their seigneurie. On the other hand, Laval, who had just been made Bishop of Quebec, bitterly resented what he regarded as an invasion of his complete and rather autocratic control of the *curés* in his diocese. His correspondent in Paris, M. Dudouyt, had in vain sug-

²⁸*Edits et ordonnances*, II, 437, Order of Bégon, 1714; Heneker, *The Seigneurial Regime in Canada*, 131-5.

²⁹*Ibid.*, I, 231-2, Edict of King, May, 1679.

gested to Colbert that seigneurs ought to endow a church as well as build it, if they were to receive the patronage; this proviso, he knew would drastically limit the number of Canadian seigneurs who could hope to become patrons. The suggestion was not accepted, but Dudouyt had to admit that the royal edict as finally drafted was quite legal according to canon law. In June, 1681, Dudouyt had another and even more plausible suggestion; writing to Laval he said: "Il faut obliger ceux qui voudront être patrons à bastir des églises en pierre comme celles de la côte de Beaupré; et comme la dépense sera considérable, peu de personnes s'y engageront."³⁰ The trick was successful; though there was no mention of stone in the King's edict of May, 1679, every letter that Laval and his successor Saint-Vallier wrote on the subject was careful to mention that the church must be of stone, until the official letters from Paris adopted the same wording assuming that such a condition was in the original order. This policy met with complete success, especially as it was combined with Laval's firm refusal to consecrate any church that the seigneur might erect, if it was built of wood. In November, 1681, the Intendant Duchesneau summed up the situation rather neatly: "Je dois vous dire qu'il n'y a point de personne de ce pays qui puisse doter une église de m.l. mais même qui la puisse faire bâtir solidement à ses dépens. Tous les gens sont ici remplis d'une grande vanité et il n'y en a pas un qui ne prétende à être patron et chacun veut un curé dans sa terre et tous ces gens-là, un seul excepté, sont fort endettés et dans la dernière pauvreté." And Duchesneau goes on to say that, except the church at Quebec, there are only seven churches in the whole country that are built of stone, and that of these, five have been built by the Bishop or by a religious order and only two by lay seigneurs; all the others were of wood and the Bishop refused to consecrate them.³¹

The seigneurs did not have the money to build a stone church, but they were not willing to abandon the hope that at some time in the future they might be able to do so; some contented themselves with announcing that they were planning to build almost immediately, others collected piles of stones to prove their good intentions. As late as 1693 the King was telling the Bishop that he expected seigneurs to be granted patronage if they built a wooden church

³⁰*Rapport de L'Archiviste de . . . Québec*, 1922-3, 115-16, Introduction by P. G. Roy; pp. 121-2, M. Dudouyt to Laval, 1677, May 10, 1681, June 2, 1681.

³¹*Ibid.*, 117-18, Duchesneau to Minister, Nov. 13, 1681; *ibid.*, 1939-40, 310, Pontchartrain to Bishop of Quebec, March 28, 1693.

when there was no stone available. But Saint-Vallier, Laval's successor, was just as determined that no seigneur should succeed in becoming patron of his church, whether built of wood or of stone; in 1717 he said "qu'il ne consentiroit jamais qu'aucun durant sa vie eût droit de patronage dans sa diocèse, voulant en ce point imiter son prédécesseur." And certainly as early as 1699 he had started the policy of erecting a stone church himself whenever it looked as though one was likely to be built by the seigneur; naturally the seigneurs objected, especially if they had built wooden churches which the Bishop had refused to consecrate. Therefore in 1699 the Bishop secured an order from the Council of State in Paris declaring that he was entitled to build a stone church in any parish or seigneurie he pleased, unless the seigneur had actually commenced to build a church there, or had already collected the materials that were needed for building. The Bishop had won; the lay seigneurs gave up the struggle, as they were too poor to compete with the financial resources of the Church. The most they could do was to try to induce the Bishop to build his stone church close to the seigneurial house, even though that was not a very central position and therefore inconvenient to many other parishioners; here also they met with no great success.³²

From this examination of the seigneur's position in New France during the French régime, it can be clearly seen that in relation to the seigneurie, to the habitants, and to the church, it was very different from that occupied by the seigneur at home in France. In a sense the French-Canadian seigneur was a parvenu, but without the ample fortune which would give the parvenu power, or at least the satisfaction of getting his own way. He had little traditional prestige, he had little fluid capital, his current income was small; he had never possessed any real share in local government, so he could not feel that he had suffered injustice from the advance to power of aggressive representatives of the Crown, as was sometimes the case in seventeenth-century France. He had little opportunity and, if he were sensible, little desire to act in a way that his tenants might regard as oppressive; on the other hand, it was not often that he could do much that would be of conspicuous benefit to them. Seigneur and habitant got on well together, very largely because

³²*Ibid.*, 1922-3, 124, Reply of Bishop to Quebec Seminary, July 30, 1717; *Edits et ordonnances*, I, 279, Order of Council of State, May 27, 1699; *Rapport de L'Archiviste de . . . Québec*, 1939-40, 310, Pontchartrain to Bishop of Quebec, March 28, 1693; *ibid.*, 1940-1, 355, Louis XIV: *Mémoire* to Callières, May 3, 1702; p. 369, Louis XIV: *Mémoire* to Callières and Beauharnois, June 20, 1703.

their interests were rarely in conflict; when they were, it was the tenant rather than the seigneur that might expect support from the Intendant at Quebec. The whole background of the seignury, the boundless wilderness that offered such attractive opportunities for individual fur trading, along with freedom from control by church or state; the relative agricultural security which, if nature were kind, the habitant enjoyed; the knowledge which some among them probably possessed that the seigneur, possibly the whole province, could not get along without them; all these things gave the habitants a feeling of independence, but it was an independence that very rarely took positive action or attracted the government's attention. Instead, as M. Lanctot points out, what they did not like, they merely opposed with the irresistible force of inertia. When, for example, the King in 1704 proposed to levy a *taille* or land-tax in New France to help pay for the costs of administration, the Governor and the Intendant repeated again and again that it was not practical because the people of the colony were profoundly opposed to such a tax; it was never levied.³³

But did this feeling of independence help to create anything like a village community, an organization in which many of the early settlers probably played a part before they left France? On the whole the answer to this question must be that there is very little evidence that there was anything resembling the village community to be found in New France. This important difference between old and New France is due almost entirely to local conditions. In the first place, except for two or three artificial creations, there were no compact villages in New France; even if it had been necessary, it would have been difficult to establish any great community feeling in that long row of houses along the shore of the St. Lawrence. In the early days the only things that the habitants of a particular locality had in common were that they farmed land that all belonged to the same seignury, and that they must unite in common defence against the Indians, and this latter motive got less and less powerful as the years went by. What had been in France one of the most potent reasons for common action by the villagers was almost entirely absent in New France, for there the village, as a community, possessed no common property which needed to be looked after, so that it might return as much profit as possible, this profit being expended for the benefit of all; naturally therefore there was no necessity in New France for those elected village officials,

³³G. Lanctot, *L'Administration de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1929), 140-1.

who would be responsible for the proper management of such common land. Equally important was the fact that there was no *taille* or land-tax, indeed the villagers paid no direct taxation of any sort to the central government at Quebec, and consequently there were no village officials to be elected for its assessment and collection. The tenants of the seigneurie did not till their fields on a communal or even a co-operative basis, there was no common pasture, and their firewood and lumber usually came, not from any common land, but from the untilled end of each man's farm; the only common agricultural bond they possessed was the mill and that was managed by the seigneur and his miller, and not by the tenants as a community. Moreover there were very few cases of that group migration to the new world that was so common in New England; to New France the emigrants came as individuals, or at most as families, and therefore there was no tendency towards group settlement that might have provided the habitants with a ready-made community complete with elected officials.

It is not suggested that the early habitants had no idea of the village community; they had all taken part in it, if they came from rural France, but when they reached New France, there seemed little point in establishing such an institution; why hold a village assembly when there were very few secular decisions that had to be made in common, and no officials to be elected? It must of course be remembered that the *capitaine de la côte* was appointed by the government at Quebec, and not elected by his fellow habitants, though in other ways he much resembled the village syndic of old France. If there were some decision that had to be made by the village community, there was always the assembly of the parish which could consider the matter, for this assembly was often to be found in existence even before the parish had been officially recognized by the bishop, and in the early days at any rate it was not thought to be improper for it to consider the occasional secular problem along with those that were purely ecclesiastical. For example, the church was so much concerned with education that appointing the schoolmaster in the few parishes that possessed one was something to be done by the religious authorities rather than by a secular assembly, as was commonly the case in France. It is the fact that the parish assembly was the only assembly in the country seigneurie that had any of the elements of self-government, that makes the parish from a democratic point of view so important in the history of New France.

The church, when it was built, not the seigneurial manor house, was to be the centre of village life, and the parish, even before it was canonically erected, was almost the only institution that did much to hold together the people of the village. In crossing the Atlantic and settling amidst frontier conditions, the seigneurial system had undergone drastic changes, the village community had almost completely vanished, but the parish had survived without any really fundamental alterations.

RESEARCH IN CANADIAN CHURCH HISTORY

H. H. WALSH

ABOUT forty years ago Dr. A. G. Doughty, one of the editors of *Canada and Its Provinces*, made a forceful appeal for a study of Canada's spiritual resources. Commenting on the prominence of the physical in Canadian national development, he ventured the following prediction: "The physical may appear for the present to have the supremacy. Soon, it may be, the desire for something more enduring which has always been manifest, will assert itself, and then Canada will have attained, to the full extent, national self-consciousness."¹ As a contribution to this end, two volumes of the justly famous "history of the Canadian people and their institutions" were devoted to a study of "missions, arts and letters." Prominent members of the various churches in Canada were assigned the task of writing the history of their own particular denominations. These contributions gathered together in one volume constitute the first attempt to give an over-all picture of Canadian church development.

The project, however, suffered from one serious defect, in that most of the histories were written in a denominational spirit. This, as Professor W. W. Sweet, an eminent authority on American church history, has said, is the wrong way to write church history. "Taken by themselves," he says, "all the incidents which go to make up the life of a denomination do not mean much in gaining an understanding of the total religious life of a nation." Indeed he regards "the history of one church taken by itself as probably misleading."² Dr. Doughty seems to have been well aware of this danger, as he urges students of *Canada and Its Provinces* not to be content with reading the story of one denomination, but to read them all in order to gain a total view of the religious development of Canada.

Despite its defects the two volumes of *Canada and Its Provinces* on "missions, arts and letters" is a landmark in the study of Canada's cultural resources. The next most comparable achievement is the *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in Arts, Letters and Sciences*. The members of the Commission were still disturbed by the prominence of the physical in Canada's national development, which was seen in the fact that this was a unique

¹Shortt and Doughty, *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914), XI, 3.

²W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (New York, 2nd rev. ed., 1950), 1.

Royal Commission for Canada. They point out that "there have been in the past many attempts to appraise our physical resources, but our study is concerned with human assets, with what might be called in a broad sense spiritual resources."³ There is, however, a marked contrast between *Canada and Its Provinces* and the *Massey Report* in that the latter touched very lightly upon the churches and confined its interest for the most part to arts, letters, and sciences. In view of this omission it would seem that the *Report* could only give us an incomplete account of our spiritual resources.

Since spiritual resources are of such an intangible nature and reach so far back into the past, it was hardly to be expected that a commission relying upon contemporary evidences would be able to make a fair appraisal of their quality and vitality, much less "make recommendations regarding their organization and the policies which would govern them."⁴ The spiritual foundations of a civilization, as it has been well said, "are not made but grow."⁵ To evaluate them properly, it is essential to know their origin and development and to have some acquaintance with the circumstances in which they first took root. This to a large extent is the task of the historian, and in Canada, at least, of a historian well versed in the history of the churches, which played such a notable role in the social development of our country. Consequently, the *Report of the Royal Commission on Arts, Letters and Sciences*, which has stirred up a real interest in the cultural development of Canada, ought to be supplemented by a Canadian church history if we are to become fully aware of our cultural resources. For this reason, a review of what has been done in this field since the publication of *Canada and Its Provinces* along with a consideration of the prospect for its further cultivation might prove instructive.

I

It must be conceded at once that the last forty years have been rather barren of research in the field of Canadian church history. There have, of course, been some denominational histories written as well as biographical sketches of some important church leaders. Also there have appeared in recent years sociological studies of religious movements and sectarian developments, which are in no sense a mere glorification of denominational interests. But the only serious attempt by a trained historian to give an over-all picture of

³*Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in Arts, Letters and Sciences* (Ottawa, 1951), 4.

⁴*Ibid.*, 3.

⁵H. D. A. Major, *Civilization and Religious Values* (London, 1948), 17.

Canadian church life has been done by an American, K. S. Latourette. This is to be found in his monumental history of the expansion of Christianity and is scattered through two volumes.⁶ Unfortunately Professor Latourette's adherence to periods of development which he has worked out for the whole Christian enterprise obscures the significant divisions in the Canadian development, which do not coincide in time with either European or American developments. Professor Latourette, however, has worked out a pattern of Canadian church history, with a particular emphasis upon its contrast with the American pattern, that ought to prove instructive to future students of the subject.

But a far more satisfactory arrangement of periods of division for Canadian Protestantism, at least, is to be found in George W. Brown's essay, "The Formative Period of the Canadian Protestant Churches."⁷ Professor Brown divides Canadian Protestant church history into three periods: one of transplantation and adaptation, one of integration in regional groupings, and one of union and organization along national lines. He also suggests a possible fourth period, that is, if "the economic and political sectionalism which made itself evident during the 'thirties is to affect every aspect of national life."⁸ This division of periods of church history in Canada, though overlapping in places, will prove far more useful to the student of the subject in organizing his material than the chronological scheme followed by Professor Latourette. Indeed Professor Brown in this essay and in his other historical works has evidenced such keen insight into the contribution of the Protestant churches to the distinctive qualities of the Canadian national spirit that one might well anticipate from him a history of Protestant Christianity in Canada.

In the same volume of *Essays in Canadian History* there is an essay by Richard M. Saunders, "*The Cultural Development of New France before 1760*" which emphasizes "the elements of originality" in the cultural life of New France, and as the author says, these "deserve more study than they have received."⁹ Though Professor

⁶K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York and London, 1941). See especially vol. V, pp. 3-45.

⁷R. Flenley, ed., *Essays in Canadian History* (Toronto, 1939), 343-72. This essay is reprinted in George W. Brown, *Canada in the Making* (Toronto, 1953). A somewhat similar arrangement of periods is suggested by A. R. M. Lower in his chapter on "Religion and Religious Institutions" in *Canada*, ed. George W. Brown, United Nations Series (Toronto, 1950), 457-83. Professor Lower's article is chiefly descriptive of the contemporary religious situation in Canada.

⁸Flenley, *Essays*, 350.

⁹*Ibid.*, 321-45.

Saunders' study is not specifically church history, yet it is suggestive of a fresh appraisal of the contribution of the Roman Catholic church to a dawning national feeling in New France which is quite distinct from that of the motherland.

Archbishop Roy, in his very illuminating lecture, *The Parish and Democracy in French Canada* (Toronto, 1950), also emphasizes unique elements in the development of French-Canadian church history. He points out that the church in French Canada almost immediately adjusted itself to the democratic spirit so characteristic of frontier life, by allowing parishioners to elect wardens who were embodied in a *fabrique*, the church council which unites both the civil and religious aspects of the community into one corporation. This democratic procedure, he thinks, helped to prepare French Canadians to welcome British legislative institutions. Archbishop Roy's lecture, with its optimistic overtones for the future of our dual culture, is no doubt an important contribution on a very vital aspect of Canadian national development. It ought to be supplemented, however, by E. C. Hughes's *French Canada in Transition* (London, 1946), in which the present stresses and complexities of our dual culture are carefully analysed. Though Professor Hughes's book is a sociological work, it is useful to the church historian, since much of it is a documented study of the effects of religious divisions on the social and civic life of a typical small town in the province of Quebec.

II

As a matter of fact it is the sociologists who have in recent years shown the most lively interest in Canadian church history. The nearest approach by a Canadian writer to an integrated church history of Canada is S. D. Clark's *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto, 1948). Professor Clark's book was hailed as "a monumental mile-stone in Canadian historical writing" by J. B. Brebner, who feels that "particularist studies will seem inexcusable, except in so far as they fill in gaps in our knowledge and are adequately related to the edifices which Mr. Clark has erected." It is written, as Professor Brebner says, "not in religious terms, but with cool, respectful sociological detachment."¹⁰ Not all historians agree that "cool, respectful sociological detachment" is sufficient for writing history; there is also need for sympathetic insight into motives and events of a former age as well as some standard of interpretation. This seems to be lacking in Professor Clark's account of the

¹⁰*Canadian Historical Review*, XXX (March, 1948), 76.

phenomenon of "religious enthusiasm" and it may well be urged that he has given undue prominence to economic factors in shaping the development of Canadian Christianity. Be that as it may, it must be conceded that Professor Clark's book is a sincere and noteworthy attempt to impress upon students of Canadian history the significance of religious movements in the social development of Canada. Furthermore, he has indicated how it is possible to keep the diversified and confusing material of Canadian church history within a coherent historical framework; and he has raised some important questions as to the nature of Canadian religion which ought to stimulate further research and investigation.

For another study of sect movements we are also indebted to the sociologists and particularly to Professor C. A. Dawson for our most authentic account of those groups of "peculiar peoples," "who have sought in bloc settlements in Western Canada to preserve their religion and their ways of life." Professor Dawson's study of ethnic communities, found in the series of volumes on "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement,"¹¹ is very enlightening on the difficulties experienced by the Doukhobors and Mennonites in making adjustment to Canadian conditions. In this same volume is included considerable information about the Mormons, the German Catholics, and the French-Canadian blocs in Western Canada.

Another development in Canadian church history that has caught the attention of the sociologists is the number of church unions in Canada that finally culminated in the formation of the United Church of Canada. The most impartial examination of the conditions and causes which led three Canadian churches to take the initiative in creating an organic union is a study by C. E. Silcox.¹² Another work of considerable importance on this subject is E. Lloyd Morrow's *Church Union in Canada* (Toronto, 1923), which gives more detailed information on the doctrinal and governmental problems involved in a church union than does Dr. Silcox; but the latter's chapters on "Canadian Background" and "Origins and Consolidations of Protestant Denominations in Canada" may be regarded as still another tentative approach to a total view of Canadian church history.

III

A review of writing on Canadian church history would hardly be complete without some reference to biographical material that

¹¹C. A. Dawson, *Group Settlements, Ethnic Communities* (Toronto, 1936).

¹²*Church Union in Canada* (New York, 1939).

represents a larger perspective than merely denominational interest. C. B. Sisson's definitive work on Egerton Ryerson¹³ stands in a class by itself since it contains a mine of information not only for ecclesiastical but for secular historians as well. Almost in the same class are T. R. Millman's studies on Jacob Mountain¹⁴ and Charles James Stewart,¹⁵ the first and second Anglican bishops of Quebec, respectively. Both these books are guides to students of the early history of Upper and Lower Canada as they make clear how closely the history of the Church of England is intertwined with the social and political history of those two provinces.

Somewhat analogous to these biographical studies is Maurice W. Armstrong's *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia* (Hartford, 1948), largely a study of Henry Alline's peculiar mystical doctrines which created such religious and social turmoil in that province. The chief merit of this book is its study of the New England influence upon the sectarian development in the Maritime Provinces, which should be very helpful to students of this phase of our religious history.

Another student of little-known religious movements in Canada is Fred Landon who has made an interesting selection of the letters of James Evans, an early Methodist missionary on the western frontier. To this same writer we are indebted for a brief account of missionary work among the Negro refugees in Canada West.¹⁶

IV

It is not possible within the limits of this article to make reference to all the secondary works which will be of assistance to anyone attempting to write a complete history of Canadian Christianity, but enough has been said to indicate that the way at least has been partially prepared.¹⁷

The greatest deterrent to writing such a history, however, still remains, and that is the scattered condition of source material and the expense involved in travelling to the various archival centres. For the larger denominations it is possible to overcome this handicap through literary exchange. This service could be greatly im-

¹³Egerton Ryerson, *His Life and Letters* (2 vols., Toronto, 1937-47).

¹⁴Jacob Mountain, *First Lord Bishop of Quebec* (Toronto, 1947).

¹⁵*The Life of the Right Reverend, the Honourable Charles James Stewart* (London, Ont., 1953).

¹⁶"The Work of the American Missionary Association among the Negro Refugees in Canada West 1848-1864," from the Ontario Historical Society's *Papers and Records*, XXI (1924), 198-205.

¹⁷In particular, no attempt has been made in this article to note the literature on the history of the Roman Catholic church in Canada.

proved if there were more printed information concerning the archival material available in the various centres.

The *Bulletin* published by the Committee on Archives of the United Church of Canada is a good illustration of what might be done to assist the research student. The sixth issue of this *Bulletin* provides a list of denominational periodicals housed in Victoria University Library. It also includes a plea that similar lists be prepared by other libraries which have files of church periodicals. If there is a favourable response to this plea, the way of the research student will be made much smoother, as church periodicals are one of the best sources for a study of the ecclesiastical issues that are peculiarly Canadian. Committees on archives could be even more helpful if they also published lists of the correspondence, diaries, and other documents relating to the work of early missionaries in Canada.

What is really needed is a co-operative effort on the part of all the churches, similar to one undertaken in the interest of American church history by the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. Though American church history is a relatively new subject of interest, the importance of religious movements in "shaping ideals and attitudes among the early settlers" on the frontier is now generally recognized by American historians. It was for this reason that the Divinity School at the University of Chicago initiated a project to collect "diaries kept by pioneer preachers, private and circular letters, minutes of individual churches and associations, pronouncements of religious groups on public issues"¹⁸ and similar material and publish them in volumes readily available to students of American cultural life.

That such a project is not beyond the realm of possibility in Canada is made evident by the fact that there is now available a bibliography of Canadian imprints from 1751 to 1800 with a brief digest of these imprints.¹⁹ All the newspapers listed in this bibliography are ultimately to be microfilmed by the Canadian Library Association, some of which will be of great interest to the student of Canadian church history. It may well be that the Canadian Library Association's microfilming project is the solution to the problem of the scattered condition of source material in Canada. Already it has filmed sixty-eight Canadian newspapers which have been bought by thirty-five libraries in Canada.²⁰ Included among these is the

¹⁸W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier* (Chicago, 1931), I, v.

¹⁹Marie Tremaine, *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints* (Toronto, 1952).

²⁰Canadian Library Association, *Bulletin*, II, no. 2 (August, 1953).

Montreal *Daily Witness* and many French-Canadian newspapers in which can be found editorial comments and articles on some of the most controversial issues in Canadian religious development.

V

It goes without saying that the assembling of "sources" is only a means to an end. Because of the variety of religious movements that originated on the frontier in the early days of our history, it will be necessary to do a great deal of thinking before we succeed in getting a manageable view of our past. A satisfactory history would probably run into several volumes, but it might also be hoped that there would appear a single-volume interpretation of Canadian church life, similar to the one that Professor Sweet has written on the American churches.²¹

At this point it is perhaps necessary to consider the objections of those who feel that Canadian church history is too narrow an interest as a major field of research. The larger field of European movements or the great expanse of comparative religion may appear far more attractive to the prospective church historian. One reply to this objection is that there are a great many workers in these fields, while Canadian church history is virgin soil still in need of research students who will give us a greater knowledge of ourselves, which is an essential part of national maturity.

Again it may be argued that there is no distinctive Canadian Christianity to write about: that all we have here are transplanted European or American churches, which have depended upon outside sources for their guidance and inspiration. Even a cursory examination of the Canadian scene ought to dispose of this objection. We can point immediately to our dual culture, which stands in sharp contrast to American development, and which has given Canada the unique distinction of having "two subordinate nationalisms existing within a supernationalism."²² How this came about is the story of a religious as well as a political adjustment which requires the pen of an historian thoroughly familiar with the religious development of both Catholic and Protestant Canada.

There is also the importance of the sectarian movements on the Canadian frontier which should be explored as diligently as our American cousins are exploring the religious movements that occurred on their frontiers. The task for the Canadian church historian is not as formidable as that of his American colleague whose *Year*

²¹W. W. Sweet, *The American Churches: An Interpretation* (New York, 1948).

²²W. S. Wallace, *The Growth of Canadian National Feeling* (Toronto, 1927), 13.

*Book of American Churches*²³ still lists some two hundred and fifty separate denominations for the United States and only nine for Canada. Though the *American Year Book* has seriously underestimated the number of denominations in Canada,²⁴ yet the decline in sectarianism is far more notable here than in the United States.

Apart from these two obvious characteristics of Canadian church life it may also be taken for granted that the churches which have lived in the same house for almost two hundred years could hardly fail to have taken on a family resemblance which we can properly call a Canadian Christianity.²⁵ To which may be added one final observation. The Canadian feat of establishing a peaceful coexistence between two antithetical cultures is no small achievement. It is a pattern of interest to a world facing similar problems which must be solved peacefully if civilization is to survive. For this reason alone it might be affirmed that Canadian church history is not only a profitable field of inquiry but extremely relevant in relation to the great issues of our day.

²³1952 edition.

²⁴According to the *Canadian Almanac and Directory* (Toronto, 1951), there are about twenty-five Christian denominations in Canada.

²⁵This resemblance has been remarked upon by C. E. Silcox. He writes: "It is actually difficult if not impossible for one who does not know the personnel intimately to sit in at a session of one of the church courts and decide on the basis of appearance, attitudes or address, who were former Presbyterians, who Methodists, who Congregationalists." *Church Union in Canada*, 464.

SOME SPANISH DOCUMENTS RELATING TO EARLY FRENCH EXPEDITIONS TO CANADA

L. A. VIGNERAS

IN 1598, the treaty of Vervins put an end to the religious strife in France and renewed peaceful relations between that country and Spain. The more restless members of the generation which had fought the wars of the League now had to seek a new outlet for their urge for adventure. Some found it in the exploration and colonization of the lands discovered some sixty years before by Jacques Cartier, and in the exploitation of the fur and codfish trade. Naturally the activities of such *buscaventuras*—as he called them—were viewed with concern by Juan Bautista Tassis, Spanish ambassador to France from 1599 to 1603. In the reports he sent home, we find mentioned the projects of three of those adventurers: La Roche Breton, La Hautière, and Chauvin.

The Marquis de la Roche Breton had received in 1578 from Henry III a grant of land with exclusive rights, and the title of *vice roy es dites Terres Neufves*; but he was not able to make good his claim until the spring of 1598, when he landed some sixty colonists on Sable Island and left them stranded there. "Were some women among them?" asks Morris Bishop, Champlain's most recent biographer, "I hope so for drama's sake."¹ According to Tassis, there were women among them, which led him to believe that La Roche was planning a permanent settlement and would return there (Document I).

Concerning La Hautière's proposed expedition, Tassis had obtained first-hand information from La Hautière himself, who was planning to sail with 7 or 8 ships and 1,500 men. But the project fell through, probably because La Hautière refused to associate with Chauvin, a Protestant. Because of his connections with Spain and Canada, we feel we are not exceeding the bounds of this note by including a brief sketch of Julien de Montigny, Seigneur de la Hautière (or la Hottière). An ardent Leaguer and a friend of the Spanish commander in Brittany, Juan del Aguila, La Hautière came to Spain in 1595 and had interviews with Philip II and his secretary, Juan de Idiaquez.² He also owned a number of vessels and was interested in the Newfoundland fisheries. After the treaty of Vervins, in July, 1598, two of his ships, the *Saint Julian* and the *Saint Jacques*,

¹Morris Bishop, *Champlain: The Life of Fortitude* (New York, 1948), 347.

²Archivo de Simancas, Estado, K 1591, B80, no 80; K 1596, B83, no 50a.

were contracted for by the Spanish authorities to help repatriate their troops from Brittany. According to the terms of the contract, the ships were to be sent back immediately, and La Hautière was planning to dispatch them to Newfoundland. However, when the fleet reached Sanlúcar de Barrameda, its commander Pedro de Zubiaur requisitioned the *Saint Julian* for service in the armada which was about to sail for America, with the connivance of the ship's captain, Guillermo Eleno "Provençal" (October, 1598). It is on this ship that Samuel de Champlain is supposed to have made his voyage all the way from Blavet to the West Indies and back to Sanlúcar.³ But the *Saint Julian* did not return from America. Because it was old and unseaworthy, it was sold in Havana in August, 1599. To seek indemnification for its loss La Hautière started a suit against Sebastian Zamet, a Florentine banker who acted as financial agent for the Spanish government in Paris. After much haggling, La Hautière received the sum of twenty thousand ducados in December, 1600.⁴

The third *buscavventura* mentioned by Tassis is Pierre Chauvin, a Huguenot from Honfleur who with two other Protestants, Des Monts and Pont-Gravé, led an expedition to Tadoussac in 1600. According to the Spanish ambassador, Chauvin had the backing of the Duc de Bouillon, leader of the Protestant party in France. Chauvin did not return in person to Tadoussac in 1601, but sent three ships there (Documents I, V).

Naturally, such undertakings in a territory which the Spanish king considered his own were bound to call for countermeasures. On July 5, 1601, Tassis had an interview with Henry IV concerning the second Chauvin expedition; but his protest was rejected with the same arguments that Francis I had used before him in a similar occasion (Document V). It seems that another protest was made in 1604, with no more success (Document VI).

The use of force was also envisaged from time to time by the Spanish government. As early as May, 1600, Pedro de Zubiaur proposed the sending of a fleet to Terranova to clean it up of French fishermen and ships (Document III). In the minutes of a session of

³"Brief discours des choses plus remarquables que Samuel Champlain de Brouage a recogues aux Indes Occidentales au voyage qu'il a fait en icelle en l'année 1599 et en l'année 1601, comme suit. . . ." Three manuscript copies are known to exist: in Providence, R.I. (John Carter Brown Library), in Bologna (Biblioteca Universitaria), and in Turin (Archivio di Stato). There are three printed editions (Hakluyt, 1859, Laverdière, 1870, Champlain Society, 1922) all based on the Providence manuscript.

⁴Archivo de Simancas, Estado, K 1603, B86, nos 107, 115. Archivo Historico Español *Consultas del Consejo de Estado*, III (Madrid, 1930), 97, 98, 100.

the Consejo de Estado dated April 1, 1604, a reference to Pedro Melendez—the man who had wiped out the French settlement in Florida in 1565—implies that action, not words, will be resorted to, if the French settlers manage to survive the rigours of the Canadian climate (Document VI). A detailed report of Martin de Arostegui, purveyor (*proveedor*) of the Armada of the Atlantic (Mar Oceano), dated November 1, 1608, called for the arming of two ships which were to scour the American shores all the way from Nova Francia to Florida, probably as a preliminary step to the dispatching of an armada (Document VII). The information concerning Canada which Martin de Arostegui had obtained from Basque fishermen includes a curious reference to the existence of the Northwest Passage only half a day's journey by canoe from Nova Francia. A similar mention is found in a memorial of Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, who gave as his informant a certain Captain Baltazar de la Just, a resident of Fuentarrabia. However Ferrer rejected the possibility of reaching the Pacific (Mar del Sur) from the French settlement in Canada, for he claimed to have discovered the Northwest Passage elsewhere, in 1588. His memorial, addressed to the Spanish Court in 1609, is full of tall tales to that effect.⁵

Arostegui's project was never put to execution, and with it ended Spanish attempts to drive the French from North America. The death of Henry IV and the friendly relations initiated with Marie de Medicis may have been the cause of such a change of heart. Besides, the settlements the English had just founded in Virginia and Bermuda represented a much greater and closer threat to the Spanish Empire than the distant snowbound colony of Canada.

The following seven documents, listed in chronological order, will serve to illustrate the comments above. While the last one comes from the Archivo de Indias in Seville, the other six are from Simancas (five in Estado K, one in Guerra Antigua). The Estado K section is the one Napoleon carried off to France; it was returned, properly catalogued, by the Pétain Government. The Guerra Antigua papers, however, except for the reign of Charles V, are still largely unexplored and uncatalogued. A thorough investigation of them might throw considerable light on the maritime competition of Spain, England, and France on the shores of North America during the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.

⁵"Relación del descubrimiento del estrecho de Anian, que hice yo, el capitán Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, el año 1588, en la cual está la orden de la navegación y la disposición del sitio y el modo de fortalecerlo, y así mismo las utilidades desta navegación, y los daños que de no hacerla, se siguen," *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, V, 446.

I. JUAN BAUTISTA TASSIS TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE¹

Paris, February 29, 1600

Canada, so I have been informed, is an island which is farther than Florida, a territory which promises fertility to those who will cultivate it. Two years ago, as I have already said, a Count de la Roche Breton went there, who must be an adventure-seeker [*buscaventuras*] as there are many here. He came back after having left in the said island a few people including women, which leads one to believe that he is planning to return there. But the one who is most in earnest about the enterprise is another Breton called Mons^r de la Hottière, well known to Don Juan de Aguila and to many others in Spain, and particularly to Don Juan de Idiaquez according to what he says. He was also known to His Majesty now deceased, in whose court he remained a while and with whom he carried on an extensive correspondence during the war of Brittany. It is he who furnished the ships to transport the troops from Blavet, for the payment of which he is now suing Zamet, a man who speaks good Spanish, of fine speech and manners, but he must be no less of an adventurer than the other. He himself has told me that he will go there with 7 or 8 vessels and 1,500 men to settle and make himself the lord of the land, asserting that this is not a thing that falls within our territory and that it could not give us any just cause for complaint. He communicated his design to his King in Blois last summer. It seems that the Duke de Bouillon has since commissioned a Huguenot captain to take part in it; the latter is in Honfleur also equipping a few ships for the enterprise, so much against the will of the said La Hottière that he has told me he is resolved to treat the captain as an enemy if he runs into him. He was thinking of leaving in March; and as to what is Canada, I have not been able up to the present to obtain more information. It seems to me that there should certainly be in Spain navigators well informed of the facts.

II. THE COUNCIL OF STATE TO THE KING²

Madrid, May 26, 1600

J. B. de Tassis has written to Your Majesty, in letters of February 29, the following: that he has been informed that the island of Canada is farther than Florida, a territory which promises fertility to those who will cultivate it; and since the Count de la Roche Breton has left there a few people including women, it is an indication that he wants to return there; but the one who is most in earnest about the enterprise is the S^r de la Hottière, who in matters of Brittany has shown himself to be a faithful servant of Your Majesty; and although the Duke de Bouillon wants a Huguenot captain to take part in the enterprise, La Hottière has told him that he is resolved to treat the captain as an enemy; and that there should be more news here of what is that island, so that appropriate measures may be taken.

[Note in the King's (Philip III) handwriting:] Report to me what the adelantado³ may find, after deliberation and with recommendations of the Council.

¹Simancas, Estado, K 1603, B86 (1600), no 20.

²Simancas, Estado, K 1426, A37 (1600), no 3.

³The Adelantado Mayor of Castille, Don Martin de Padilla, was commander in chief of the Spanish Navy from 1595 to 1602. He combined commands of both the Spanish Gallies and the Armada of the Atlantic. He led an unsuccessful expedition to Ireland.

III. PEDRO DE ZUBIAUR TO THE COUNCIL OF WAR⁴

Sanlúcar de Barrameda, May 14, 1600

. . . If there should be war with France, may Your Majesty order that all the suitable ships in all of Spain be equipped and assembled, and in complete secrecy reach Terranova, and when the armada is near the shore, let the general divide it, and in all the harbours where they fish, [let him] capture and bring back the better vessels and sink the others after having removed the artillery. . . . If an armada should sail for Tercera [Island], it could first make the journey to Terranova, and there meet and unite with the fleet before going to Tercera.⁵

IV. J. B. TASSIS TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE⁶

Paris, May 31, 1600

To avoid any misinformation concerning rumours of ships being sent to Canada, I dispatched a scout to explore the whole coast from Dieppe to as far as Nantes, and he has not found a thing that might cause concern. God keep Your Majesty.

V. J. B. TASSIS TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE⁷

Paris, July 9, 1601

The text of two paragraphs included here will show that I did not neglect to inform Your Majesty on matters of Canada as soon as I learned of them. I confess that I did not then complain to this King [Henry IV], because I was informed that it was a territory in which we had no possessions, a land very far from our own.

The ships that sailed for that purpose from Honfleur were not as many as indicated in the information from England. There were only three, as I was assured by an experienced scout whom I sent at the time to explore the coast from Dieppe to Nantes, and he saw them, and although Mons^r Chauvin owns them and equipped them, he did not go there in person, nor did La Hottière leave in spite of all he said.

On the fifth of this month I spoke to the King about this matter, pointing out that the fort we had there meant possession of all the land, and did not cease as such because it was somewhat far from the River, since the soldiers could not cover the whole territory; and I asked him not to permit hereafter any similar sailings. He replied that Nature allowed him to look for conquests as well as anyone else, provided it were not land that belonged to his friends. Relying upon this and upon the fact that in Canada there is no one but the natives, so that the French could go there as they pleased, he argued that God had not given us the whole world, agreed as to our possession of Florida, and concluded with such words that I do not believe he will ever think of restraining any of his subjects who wants to undertake that voyage. . . . But concerning those conquests on the coast of Canada I could not add anything more, except

⁴Simancas, Guerra Antigua 577.

⁵Almost every year, an armada was sent to Tercera Island, one of the Azores, to await the galleons returning from America and escort them back to Spain.

⁶Simancas, Estado, K 1603, B86 (1600), no 45.

⁷Simancas, Estado, K 1604, B87 (1601), no 43.

that I do not believe that in this country, which has never appeared very enterprising on distant seas, there will ever be many who yearn to leave "la douce France," as they call it, to undertake such distant ventures. . . .

VI. COUNCIL OF STATE TO KING⁸

Valladolid, April 1, 1604

Concerning Canada, the answer could be omitted, since there is no cause for concern, being so far away and in a country where the climate will destroy those who go there; and should it be otherwise, the remedy does not consist in talking, but in sending another Pedro Melendez to wipe them out as he did in Florida.

VII. MARTIN DE AROSTEGUI TO THE COUNCIL OF INDIES⁹

San Sebastián, November 1, 1608.

Following Your Majesty's orders of October 22, I inquired from the pilots and sailors who have returned lately from Terranova if they have run into or seen any northern ships which might have gone there and particularly toward the coast of Florida; and some mariners who usually navigate to Terranova have told me that for the past few years French ships have gone to New France, which is on the coast of Florida, to barter with the Indians or savages, who come down to the shore from different provinces; and they are gentle people who bring marten skins, mother-of-pearl shells, and pearls, and they report that through there, which is at a latitude of 45 degrees, the South Sea is very near, and that they see in it sailboats and bearded men like those of here, and that in half a day the canoes cover the distance from New France to the other sea, and that the French ships don't let any others go there to trade, and that if they wished they could easily transport their people through the said strait to the South Sea; and some of the masters and sailors of the ships that went whaling in the strait of the said New France relate also that this year two French warships went to the said barter, but they saw no warship of any other nation going or returning from that coast, only the French and Spanish vessels which usually go fishing for cod or whales. Some ships that went there are expected at the end of November; from the sailors it will be possible to know if they have more recent news to relate than those who have already returned.

The sailors also say that in the said New France or Canada, which is on the coast of Florida to the West, there is near the shore an abundance of big masts for ships of 500 and 600 tons and boards 3 to 4 palms thick,¹⁰ and of very good quality, which could be brought in merchant vessels paying only for the freight and food, and would come out much cheaper than those that are brought from Norway; and I still think that having the owners of the vessels which go fishing there bring them, they could do so at less cost, and it would be of great importance because of the shortage of masts which prevails in Spain.

⁸Simancas, Estado, K 1426, A37 (1604), no 63.

⁹Archivo de Indias, Indiferente General 1124.

¹⁰The *palmo* was one-fourth of a yard, or eight inches.

Caravels and pataches will be found of the tonnage Your Majesty demands, and pilots and sailors experienced in that navigation (in case the Council resolves that they go there), and I am sending herewith the estimate of what the salaries and provisions will cost, also the freightage of the vessels, all the rest that can be foreseen for that purpose, and the arms and ammunition and two cannon of cast-iron for each ship (since Your Majesty has them here). It is necessary that they carry all that may be required to reconnoitre those shores.

I advise Your Majesty that one can navigate to Virginia all year round; but it is not possible to go to Terranova, which is on the coast of [New] France, until the end of March, because the sea freezes there.

And since writing this, I have learned that two years ago a Dutch ship from Rotterdam went to the said strait of New France where whales are fished, and captured there three vessels loaded with fat which belonged to residents of San Sebastián. This year it is understood that they [the Dutch] have not gone there because of the truce.¹¹

¹¹Martin de Arostegui's letter also includes a detailed account of the supplies and armament required for the expedition, entitled as follows: "Estimate of what will be necessary for the provisioning during five months of the 50 persons who are expected to go in two zabras (caravels), to make the voyage of Terranova and reconnoitre the whole coast down to Florida, and the artillery, arms, and ammunition, also the salaries required for the personnel and the freightage of the said zabras. . . ."

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its twenty-seventh annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography, and a selection of historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from a large number of universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. We shall be very grateful to have mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

Theses for the Doctor's Degree

- LELAND S. ALBRIGHT, B.A. Toronto 1942; A.M. Harvard 1948. Economic fluctuations in Canada, 1867-1914. *Harvard*.
- NATHANIEL C. ALLYN, A.B. Stanford 1948; A.M. 1949; Ph.D. 1953. European immigration into Canada, 1846-51. *Stanford*.
- D. C. ANGLIN, B.A. Toronto 1948; B.A. Oxford 1950. Canadian policy towards international institutions since 1939. *Oxford*.
- MARGARET A. BANKS, B.A. Bishop's 1949; M.A. Toronto 1950; Ph.D. 1953. Edward Blake and Irish nationalism, 1892-1907. *Toronto*.
- R. N. BEATTIE, B.A. British Columbia 1939; M.A. Toronto 1946. The Grand Trunk Railway to 1867. *Toronto*.
- J. M. BECK, B.A. Acadia 1934; M.A. Toronto 1947. The government of Nova Scotia. *Toronto*.
- RUBEN CARL BELLAN, B.A. Manitoba 1938; M.A. Toronto 1941. Business fluctuations in Winnipeg from 1900. *Columbia*.
- I. Z. BHATTY, B.A. Allahabad 1944; M.A. 1948. A comparative study of certain aspects of labour relations in the Tata Steel Co., India, and the Steel Company of Canada. *Toronto*.
- GORDON BLAKE, B.A. McMaster 1936; M.A. Toronto 1947. Customs administration in Canada. *Toronto*.
- W. F. BOWKER, B.A. Alberta 1930; LL.B. 1932; LL.M. Minnesota 1953. The Supreme Court of Canada. *Yale*.
- CHANDLER BRAGDON, B.A. Cambridge 1929; M.A. 1934. Canadian reaction to American foreign policy, 1937-45. *Rochester*.
- Sister M. TERESA AVILA BURKE, A.B. New Rochelle 1940; A.M. Columbia 1947. An historical analysis of the Canadian cabinet. *Columbia*.
- W. G. R. CAMERON, B.A. Queen's 1951. A national interest analysis of the foreign policy debates in the House of Commons from 1943 to 1953. *Toronto*.
- PIERRE CARIGNAN, B.A. Montreal 1942; License in Law 1945; A.M. Harvard 1947. Development of social security in Canada. *Harvard*.
- J. K. CHAPMAN, B.A. New Brunswick 1950; M.A. 1952. Career of Arthur Hamilton Gordon, 1st Lord Stanmore, to 1875. *London*.

- J. A. COLVIN, B.A. Toronto 1949. Laurier and the imperial problem. *London*.
- P. G. CORNELL, B.A. Toronto 1940; M.A. 1948. The alignment of political parties in the united province of Canada. *Toronto*.
- HENRY CUDDY, Ph.D. St. John's (Brooklyn). The influence of the Fenian movement on Anglo-American relations, 1860-1872. *St. John's (Brooklyn)*.
- MICHAEL DAFOE, B.A. Manitoba; M.A. Queen's 1954. The Winnipeg Free Press and the issue of collective security between the two world wars. *Queen's*.
- NORA DAWSON, B.A. Western Ontario 1933; M.A. Laval 1953; Ph.D. 1954. La vie matérielle de la paroisse de Saint-Pierre de l'île d'Orléans. *Laval*.
- WILLIAM F. DAWSON, B.A. Toronto 1952; M.A. Queen's 1953. The development of procedure in the House of Commons in Canada. *Oxford*.
- EARL GORDON DRAKE, B.A. Saskatchewan 1950; M.A. 1951. Walter Scott's career as Premier of Saskatchewan, 1905-16. *Toronto*.
- WILLIAM M. DRUMMOND, B.A. Queen's 1923; M.A. Toronto 1924; A.M. Harvard 1951. An economic analysis of the Canadian dairy industry. *Harvard*.
- E. L. EAGER, B.A. Saskatchewan 1948; M.A. Toronto 1949. The government of Saskatchewan. *Toronto*.
- W. J. ECCLES, B.A. McGill 1949; M.A. 1951. Frontenac and New France, 1672-1701. *McGill*.
- FREDERICK C. ENGELMANN, B.A. California (Los Angeles) 1942; M.A. 1947; M.A. Yale 1950; Ph.D. 1954. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada. *Yale*.
- A. J. DE B. FORBES, B.A. Adelaide 1950. The attitude of the dominions to organization for international security and welfare, 1939-45. *Oxford*.
- D. G. L. FRASER, B.A. Acadia 1948; M.A. 1949. The Canadian background to the Statute of Westminster, 1897-1931. *Cambridge*.
- G. S. FRENCH, B.A. Toronto 1944; M.A. 1947. Methodism and politics in Canada in the nineteenth century. *Toronto*.
- ALVIN C. GLUEK, A.B. Dartmouth 1944; M.A. Minnesota 1948; Ph.D. 1953. The struggle for the British Northwest: A study in Canadian-American relations. *Minnesota*.
- SIMON A. GOLDBERG, B.A. McGill 1939; M.A. 1940; A.M. Harvard 1942; Ph.D. 1954. Institutional savings and investment in Canada, with special reference to life insurance. *Harvard*.
- T. I. GOLDBERG, B.A. Buffalo 1949; M.A. 1950. The structure and development of international unionism in Canada (with special reference to the influence of American leadership on the Canadian sections of international trade unions). *Toronto*.
- CHARLES R. GRAHAM, B.A. Dalhousie 1941; M.A. McGill 1942; A.M. Harvard 1948. The economic potential of Canada. *Harvard*.
- JEAN-MARIE GRANDBOIS, B.A. Montréal 1950; B.Ps. 1951; L.Ps. 1953. Etude sur la réceptivité des étudiants canadiens-français de l'Université de Montréal à l'égard des étudiants émigrés. *Montréal*.
- H. B. HARRINGTON. The Scottish backgrounds of the founders of the reformed Presbyterian Church of North America. *Edinburgh*.
- JOHN P. HEISLER, B.A. British Columbia 1939; M.A. McGill 1941. Sir John Thompson, 1844-94. *Toronto*.
- PAUL H. HEPPE, A.B. Wisconsin 1939; A.M. 1948. The ideology of the Canadian Liberal party, 1921-51. *Wisconsin*.
- MARY W. HERMAN, Ph.D. Buffalo. Indian fur trade of New France in the seventeenth century. *Buffalo*.
- D. G. HILL, B.A. Howard 1948; M.A. Toronto 1951. The Canadian Negro community. *Toronto*.
- W. A. DOUGLAS JACKSON, Ph.D. Maryland 1952. The lands along the upper St. Lawrence: Canadian-American development during the nineteenth century. *Maryland*.

- RAYMOND CASIMIR JANCAUKAS, A.B. Loyola 1936; M.A. St. Louis 1940. Analysis of recent major Canadian investment. *Columbia*.
- M. A. JONES, B.A. Oxford 1949. The role of the United Kingdom in the transatlantic emigrant trade, 1815-75. *Oxford*.
- S. F. KALISKI, B.A. British Columbia 1952; M.A. Toronto 1953. The influence of foreign trade on the domestic economy, with special reference to Canada. *Toronto*.
- RALPH KAMINSKY, B.A. Manitoba 1947. Canadian experience in foreign exchange control. *Columbia*.
- R. L. KIRKPATRICK, B.A. Monmouth College 1942; M.A. Washington 1947; D.Phil. Oxford 1953. British imperial policy, 1874-80. *Oxford*.
- FRANCES C. KRAUSKOPF, Ph.D. Illinois. The French in Indiana, 1700-1760: A political history. *Illinois*.
- LYDIA LANDRY, B.A. Montréal; B.Ps. 1951; L.Ps. 1953. Recherche sur la réceptivité d'un groupe d'étudiantes canadiennes-françaises envers les immigrants. *Montréal*.
- A. D. LOCKHART, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. The administration and development of Ontario under Sir John Harvey in the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.
- JAMES P. LOVEKIN, B.A. Toronto 1946; M.A. 1949. History of Durham County. *Toronto*.
- DAVY H. MCCALL, A.B. Kenyon 1944; A.M. Harvard 1948. The industrial relationships between the Cleveland area and the province of Ontario. *Harvard*.
- MALCOLM MACDONELL, B.A. St. Francis Xavier 1938; M.A. Toronto 1945. The administration of Sir John Harvey in the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.
- JOSEPH E. MCGURN, A.B. Hobart 1950; M.A. 1951. Canadian-American relations, 1914-20. *Rochester*.
- WILLIAM MACKENZIE, B.Sc. Glasgow 1946; B.Litt. Oxford 1948; M.S. Cornell 1949. An examination of capital formation and substitution in the agriculture of Alberta. *Harvard*.
- K. A. MACKIRDY, B.A. British Columbia 1947; M.A. 1948. Regionalism: Canada and Australia. *Toronto*.
- JOHN MCKNIGHT, B.S.S. College of the City of New York 1939; A.M. Columbia 1947. United States-Canadian trade, 1932-8: A study in the income and expenditure approach to the theory of international trade. *Columbia*.
- K. D. MCRAE, B.A. Toronto 1946; M.A. Harvard 1947. Some social and political ideas of the Canadian reformers. *Oxford*.
- W. S. A. MARTIN, B.A. Manitoba 1949; LL.B. 1949; M.A. Toronto 1950. A study of legislation designed to foster industrial peace in the common law jurisdiction of Canada. *Toronto*.
- J. S. MOIR, B.A. Toronto 1948; M.A. 1949. Relations of Church and State in Canada West, 1840-67. *Toronto*.
- R. N. MONTGOMERY. History of the schisms and unions of the United Presbyterian Church in North America. *Edinburgh*.
- H. BLAIR NEATBY, B.A. Saskatchewan 1950; B.A. Oxford 1952. Laurier and Quebec. *Toronto*.
- M. P. O'CONNELL, B.A. Queen's 1942; M.A. Toronto 1947. Henri Bourassa and Canadian nationalism. *Toronto*.
- W. G. PHILLIPS, B.A. Toronto 1944; M.A. 1947; Ph.D. 1953. The agricultural implement industry in Canada. *Toronto*.
- ROBERT GERALD PRODRICK, B.A. Toronto 1938; M.A. 1950. The emergence of public enterprise in the Canadian economy. *Columbia*.
- HERBERT F. QUINN, B.A. Sir George Williams 1941; M.A. McGill 1946. The nationalist movement in Quebec since 1930: The impact of industrialization on party politics. *Columbia*.
- JOHN E. REYNOLDS, A.B. Harvard 1944; A.M. 1950. Canadian foreign economic policy. *Harvard*.
- RUDOLPH R. RHOMBERG, Dr. Rer. Pol. Vienna 1949; M.A. Yale 1950. Canada's U.S. dollar problem and her economic policy. *Yale*.

- BARBARA ANNE ROBERTSON, B.A. Toronto 1953. The Liberals in Opposition, 1878-1896. *Queen's*.
- JOHN TUPPER SAYWELL, B.A. British Columbia 1950; M.A. 1951. The Canadian Lieutenant-Governor: An historical study of forms and forces. *Harvard*.
- D. M. SCHURMAN, B.A. Acadia 1949; M.A. 1950. Imperial defence, 1868-87. *Cambridge*.
- DAVID SCHWARTZMAN, Ph.D. Buffalo. Mergers in the Nova Scotia coal fields: A history of the Dominion Coal Company 1893-1940. *Buffalo*.
- WILLIAM DAVID SMITH, B.A. Manitoba 1948; M.A. 1951. Sir Robert Borden and Union Government. *Toronto*.
- DALLAS H. STEINTHORSON, B.A. Queen's 1943; A.M. Harvard 1949. Problems in input-output analysis of the Canadian economy. *Harvard*.
- LEWIS G. THOMAS, B.A. Alberta 1934; M.A. 1935; Ph.D. Harvard 1954. The Liberal party in Alberta: A political history of the province of Alberta, 1905-21. *Harvard*.
- FREDERIC F. THOMPSON, B.A. Dalhousie 1944; M.A. 1945; D.Phil. Oxford 1954. The background to the Newfoundland clauses of the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904. *Oxford*.
- HUGH G. THORBURN, B.A. Toronto 1949; A.M. Columbia 1950. The politics of New Brunswick: A study of the political influence of the Acadians. *Columbia*.
- PETER B. WAITE, B.A. British Columbia 1948; M.A. 1950. Ph.D. Toronto 1954. Federalism at the time of Confederation. *Toronto*.
- T. S. WEBSTER, B.A. Queen's 1943; M.A. 1944. Napoleon and Canada. *Chicago*.
- S. WERTIMER, Ph.D. London 1952. Migration from the United Kingdom to the dominions in the inter-war period, with special reference to the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. *London*.
- H. J. WHALEN, B.A. New Brunswick 1949; M.A. 1951. The government of New Brunswick, 1874-1867: A study in British colonial administration. *London*.
- PATRICK C. T. WHITE, B.A. British Columbia 1947; B.A. Cambridge 1948; Ph.D. Minnesota 1954. Anglo-American relations, 1803-15. *Minnesota*.
- JOSEPH W. WILLARD, B.A. Toronto 1940; M.A. 1944; A.M. Harvard 1947; M.P.A. 1946. Some aspects of social security in Canada. *Harvard*.
- S. F. WISE, B.A. Toronto 1950; M.A. Queen's 1953. Canadian Toryism: A study in "ideology." *Queen's*.
- D. MACM. YOUNG, B.A. New Brunswick 1949. The working of the British Colonial Office, 1812-30. *London*.
- J. H. YOUNG, B.A. Queen's 1948; M.A. 1949. Strategic factors in Canadian economic development. *Cambridge*.
- PAUL YUZYK, B.A. Saskatchewan 1947; M.A. 1948. The history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada. *Minnesota*.
- MORRIS ZASLOW, B.A. Alberta 1940; B.Educ. 1941; M.A. Toronto 1948. A history of transportation and development of the Mackenzie basin from 1921 to 1948. *Toronto*.

Theses for the Master's Degree

- CHARLOTTE M. ABBOTT, B.A. Queen's 1937. Life of Sir John J. C. Abbott. *Queen's*.
- MARTHA I. ALLEN, B.A. Western Ontario 1939. The cultural, economic, and political aspects of Finnish settlement in the Sudbury District of Northern Ontario. *Western Ontario*.
- DAVID G. ANDERSON, B.A. Western Ontario 1953. History of the leather tanning industry in Kitchener. *Western Ontario*.
- H. P. ANDREWS, B.A. Toronto 1947; M.A. 1950. The social structure of the Jewish community in an eastern Canadian city. *Oxford*.
- MARGARET FRANCES ANGLIN, B.A. Queen's 1952. Canadian life and society as reflected in English-Canadian periodicals 1867-80. *Queen's*.
- VINCENT BAJAKIAN, A.B. Queens College (New York) 1951; M.B.A. New York 1953. Financing the Canadian oil industry. *New York*.

- WALTER BAKER, B.A. Queen's 1953. The administration of federal social agencies. *Queen's*.
- M. B. BALLABON, M.A. McGill 1952. Urban geography of Richelieu Drainage Basin. *McGill*.
- WILLIAM E. BAUER, B.A. Queen's 1951; M.A. 1953. The Department of the Interior and Dominion lands, 1873-91. *Queen's*.
- ARLINE GERTRUDE BECERT, B.S. in Ed. Maine 1949; M.S. Cornell 1953. Analysis of the Canadian old age security system. *Cornell*.
- K. C. BINKS, B.A. Queen's 1948. French-Canadian opinion of Canada's position in the British Commonwealth, 1919-39. *Queen's*.
- JEAN-JACQUES BISAILLON, B.A. Montreal College 1943; LL.L. Montreal University 1947; M.A. Columbia 1954. History of trade unions in Canada. *Columbia*.
- W. F. BOWKER, B.A. Alberta 1930; LL.B. 1932; LL.M. Minnesota 1953. Basic rights and freedoms in Canada. *Minnesota*.
- GERALD P. BROWNE, B.A. British Columbia 1951; M.A. 1953. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the distribution of legislative powers in the B.N.A. Act, 1867. *British Columbia*.
- WILLARD B. BROWN, Jr., A.B. Columbia 1949. The Canadian Combines Investigation Act. *Columbia*.
- GEORGE BROWNELL, M.A. Western Ontario 1951. The role of lake package freighters, southwestern Ontario. *Western Ontario*.
- GORDON CARSWELL, M.Sc. Western Ontario 1952. Water supply problem in southwestern Ontario. *Western Ontario*.
- EDWARD ALEXANDER CHRISTIE, B.A. Toronto 1946. The Presbyterian Church and social questions 1875-1925. *Toronto*.
- D. M. CHURCHILL, A.B. Stanford. False Creek Development: A study of the actions and interactions of the three levels of government as they affected public and private development of the waterway and its land basin. *British Columbia*.
- GORDON A. R. CLUETT, B.A. Queen's 1951. Sir Clifford Sifton and the Liberal party in Manitoba, 1896-1905. *Queen's*.
- A. A. COBBAN, M.A. McGill 1952. Land utilization survey of Richelieu Valley. *McGill*.
- D. B. COOMBS, M.A. McGill 1952. Geographical study of Hudson Bay lowlands. *McGill*.
- M. JOYCE CROOKS, B.A. McMaster; M.A. Queen's 1954. Louis-Joseph Papineau and the society which produced him. *Queen's*.
- MICHAEL DAFOE, B.A. Manitoba; M.A. Queen's 1954. Political opinions of the United Empire Loyalists, as revealed by a study of leading Loyalists. *Queen's*.
- WILLIAM F. DAWSON, B.A. Toronto 1952; M.A. Queen's 1953. The development of the standing orders of the House of Commons of Canada. *Queen's*.
- BEVIS DEWAR, B.A. "Imperialism" in Canada, 1883-1903. *Queen's*.
- JOHN RICHARD DOWNS, B.A. Saskatchewan 1952; M.A. 1953. World trade in sugar and its regulation, with special reference to Canada. *Saskatchewan*.
- JOHN ALAN DUXBURY, M.A. Kansas 1951. A geographical study of the flue-cured tobacco producing areas of Alliston and New Lowell, Ontario. *Kansas*.
- GORDON R. ELLIOTT, B.A. British Columbia 1951; M.A. 1954. Francis Xavier Garneau: An appraisal. *British Columbia*.
- N. C. V. FAIRWEATHER, B.A. Bristol 1939. Nationalism in Commonwealth relations, 1931-53. *Oxford*.
- D. M. FISHER, B.A. Toronto 1949; B.L.S. 1950. The rise of sport; A segment of Canadian social history. *Queen's*.
- IAN SHENSTONE FRASER, B.A. Toronto 1951; M.A. Clark 1953. The Renfrew region in the middle Ottawa Valley. *Clark*.
- PAUL HALJAN, Dr. Juris, Bratislava; M.A. Alberta 1954. A history of the federal income tax in Canada. *Alberta*.

- MARTIN J. HAVRAN, B.Phil. Detroit 1951; M.A. Wayne 1953. The growth of Windsor, Ontario, 1854-1900. *Wayne*.
- WELF H. HEICK, B.A. Western Ontario (Waterloo College). Lutheranism in Waterloo County. *Queen's*.
- H. G. HENDERSON, B.S.A. Ontario Agricultural College 1949. Economic aspects of vegetable production and marketing on the Holland Bradford Marshes. *Toronto*.
- BRUCE HODGINS, B.A. Western Ontario (Waterloo College). Confederation and the application of democratic principles. *Queen's*.
- W. L. HOYT, B.A. Acadia 1952; M.A. 1952. The politics of the Free School Act in New Brunswick, 1867-75. *New Brunswick*.
- J. P. HUDSON, B.S.A. Manitoba 1949. An economic appraisal of land settlement possibilities in the Saskatchewan-Carrot River Delta area of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. *Saskatchewan*.
- C. M. JOHNSTON, M.A. Pennsylvania. British colonial policy, 1783-1810. *Pennsylvania*.
- HELEN JONES, B.A. Queen's 1953. The organization and activities of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture. *Queen's*.
- WALTER KARASHOWSKY, B.A. Alberta 1948. H. H. Stevens and the Reconstruction party of 1935. *Queen's*.
- J. S. KERMEEN, B.E. Saskatchewan 1951. Radioactive deposits in Athabaska sandstone, Stony Rapids, Northern Saskatchewan. *Saskatchewan*.
- M. W. KERR, B.A. Western Australia 1947; B.Litt. Oxford 1952. The role of the British Parliament in colonial affairs, 1850-60. *Oxford*.
- CHARLOTTE M. LENENTINE, B.A. Maine; M.A. Clark. The Madawaskans: The development of an international community. *New Brunswick*.
- T. W. LIGHTFOOT, B.A. Toronto 1950. Haldimand and the Quebec Act. *Toronto*.
- R. M. LITHGOW, M.A. McGill 1952. Historical geography of Richelieu Valley. *McGill*.
- DOUGAL EDGAR MCFEE, B.A. Queen's 1947; M.A. 1954. The Honourable William McDougall, C.B. *Queen's*.
- W. A. MACKAY, B.A. Dalhousie; LL.B.; LL.M. Maintenance of dependents in Nova Scotia. *Dalhousie*.
- K. S. McLAREN, B.A. Saskatchewan 1949; B.Ed. 1950; M.Ed. 1954. The cost of a defensible programme for public elementary and secondary schools in the province of Saskatchewan. *Saskatchewan*.
- M. JEAN McLEOD, B.A. Queen's 1953. Political ideas in the early Liberal party. *Queen's*.
- F. B. MACMILLAN, B.A. New Brunswick. The trade of New Brunswick with the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Caribbean, 1784-1818. *New Brunswick*.
- R. W. McRAE, B.Com. British Columbia. The Canadian Pacific Air Freight case. *British Columbia*.
- W. G. MANNING, B.A. Queen's 1931; B.Ed. Saskatchewan 1939; M.Ed. 1954. Department of Education examinations in the Canadian provinces. *Saskatchewan*.
- E. F. J. MATHEWS, B.Sc. London 1944. Poole's trade with Newfoundland. *Bristol*.
- S. R. MEALING, B.A. Alberta 1949; B.A. Oxford 1951; B.Litt. 1952. Lt.-Gov. John Graves Simcoe and the Home Office, 1791-7. *Oxford*.
- C. L. MERRILL, M.Sc. Western Ontario 1951. The variability of precipitation in southwestern Ontario. *Western Ontario*.
- LESLIE MERRILL, M.A. McGill 1953. Population distribution in the Riding Mountains and adjacent plains of Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1870-1946. *McGill*.
- R. E. MILLER, B.A. Queen's 1951. Political ideas and trends in French Canada during the 1890's. *Queen's*.
- RALPH MOSHER, B.A. Acadia 1949. Nova Scotian particularism, 1867-90. *Queen's*.
- K. POCHOPHEN, M.A. McGill 1952. The District of Brome: A regional study of the physical and human geography. *McGill*.

- MARGARET E. PRANG, B.A. Manitoba 1945; M.A. Toronto 1953. Canada between the two world wars as reflected in the *Canadian Forum*, Toronto *Saturday Night*, and the *Canadian Register*. *Toronto*.
- J. D. PURDY, B.A. New Brunswick. The development of the Church of England in New Brunswick, 1784-1860. *New Brunswick*.
- MARTIN REFKIN, B.S. in Business, Indiana 1948; M.A. New York 1953. The iron and steel industry of Canada. *New York*.
- RALPH E. REYNOLDS, B.A. Queen's 1948. Social aspects of life in Canada in the 1850's. *Queen's*.
- D. BERKELEY RHODES, B.A. Toronto 1948. The Toronto *Star*. *Toronto*.
- BARBARA ANNE ROBERTSON, B.A. Toronto 1953. The Liberals in Opposition, 1878-96. *Queen's*.
- C. ROGERS, B.A. New Brunswick. The career of Edward Barron Chandler, New Brunswick politician, 1828-50. *New Brunswick*.
- CHARLES M. ROWAN, B.A. New Brunswick. Timothy Warren Anglin and the politics of the *Freeman*, 1867-75. *New Brunswick*.
- JAMES P. SCANLON, B.A. Queen's 1951; M.A. 1954. Printers' ink and politics: A study of the constitutional crisis of 1926, and how it affected three Canadian newspapers. *Queen's*.
- H. D. SCHMIDT, M.A. Hebrew University (Jerusalem) 1940; B.A. London 1943; B.Litt. Oxford 1953. The characteristics of British policy and imperial history as conceived by the German historians of the nineteenth century, 1848-1902. *Oxford*.
- BERNARD J. SCOTT, B.A. New Brunswick. The historiography of the 1837 rebellions. *New Brunswick*.
- Mrs. A. D. SMALL (formerly Miss Helen McMahon), B.A. Toronto 1948. A political biography of John Sandfield Macdonald, 1841-67. *Queen's*.
- A. SMITH, B.A. Alberta 1940; LL.B. 1941. The commerce clauses in the Canadian and United States constitutions: A comparative study. *Stanford*.
- GARY SMITH, B.A. Queen's 1952; M.A. 1954. Henri Bourassa as a representative French-Canadian figure. *Queen's*.
- T. B. SMITH, B.A. Mount Allison 1952. The development of special rights in the British North America Act, 1864-7. *London*.
- GORDON L. SPALDING, B.A. Toronto 1952; M.A. 1954. The Toronto *Daily Star* as a Liberal advocate, 1899-1911. *Toronto*.
- ETHEL G. STEWART, B.A. Queen's 1948. Fort McPherson on Peel River, N.W.T. *Queen's*.
- T. E. TYLER, B.A. Wales (Swansea) 1940. The English posts on Hudson's Bay, 1660-1715. *London*.
- CAMERON VANCE, M.A. Western Ontario 1952. Tobacco economy and people of the new belt. *Western Ontario*.
- H. G. VON CUBE, Diploma, Hohenheim 1949. Economic efficiency of the use of tillage and harvesting machinery on livestock farms in Ontario. *Toronto*.
- EDITH MARY WAGNER, B.A. Western Ontario 1937. Education as revealed in family papers, Ontario, 1800-1900. *Toronto*.
- Mrs. K. H. WANGENHEIM, B.A. Toronto 1952. The social organization of the Japanese community in Toronto. *Toronto*.

REVIEW ARTICLE

CANADA AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS*

D. J. McDougall

THE output of books on the Commonwealth and on its member states continues at an undiminished rate. During the past year it has reached something like flood tide; and among these recent books are a number that are likely to be standard for the subjects with which they deal. Interest has centred mainly on India and Africa, the two regions where change has been most striking, and where problems of the greatest difficulty and of the highest importance to the Commonwealth and to the world still await solution. That is reflected, not only in the list of titles here given, but in the large number of books published by Indian scholars in their own country which have not been available to the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The list includes two collections of documents that will be of the greatest service to students of Commonwealth history. The first of these, edited by Professor Harlow and Dr. Madden, presents a detailed picture of the development of colonial policy during the crucial period from the American Revolution to the eve of the struggle for responsible government in Canada. The second and more extensive, edited by Professor Mansergh, contains the essential documents on virtually every aspect of the changes and discussions that have taken place within the Commonwealth and on its fringes since the Statute of Westminster. Among the more specialized historical works, two of these books are outstanding. Miss Sutherland's study of *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* is the most complete and the most scholarly account of the subject that has been written; and Sir Percy Griffiths' volume, *The British Impact on India*, can have few rivals as an analysis and appraisal of the influences brought to bear on every level of Indian life during the years of British rule. No less illuminating on one of the major problems in the Commonwealth at the present time is Mr. Marquard's study of *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa*, one of the most balanced and judicious statements on the question of race relations in the Union that has appeared in many years.

Only one of these books essays to deal with the history of the Empire in general, and that is one with which many readers are already familiar. Professor Walker's history has been out of print for some time, and this new edition will be more than welcome. It has been enlarged by the addition of two chapters outlining the changes that have taken place since 1939, especially in South Africa and in the Asian communities which have recently been admitted to membership in "the club." The earlier chapters, unchanged in any important respect, survey the growth of the Empire from its foundations in the seventeenth century, with the emphasis on the conditions in Great Britain and the colonies that have given it its distinctive character. The striking feature of

*This is the twenty-third review article published by the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW on this subject. For the bibliography of the article see pages 247-8. The REVIEW also publishes in each issue a list of recent publications on Canada's relations within the Commonwealth (see page 264).

Professor Walker's work is the amount of detail that has been compressed in so small a book and the way in which the balance has been preserved between the various forces, political, economic, intellectual, and moral, that have gone to the shaping of the modern Commonwealth. This is one of the best of the shorter histories of the Empire, not the least of its qualities being that it is thoroughly readable. It is written from the point of view of a moderate imperialist, deeply impressed with this unique achievement, and at times a little impatient with such groups as the South Africans and the Irish, whose "continental taste for absolutes and for strict legal precision" has put them out of step with the "pragmatic instinct of the English."

The sixty-odd years between the American Revolution and the beginning of serious unrest in Nova Scotia and Canada have not hitherto received much attention. In the minds of most historians the constitutional issue has been uppermost, and the period has been regarded, either as a hiatus in the long process of formulating and giving effect to the Commonwealth ideal, or as a rather obscure background against which the genius of Lord Durham and the Colonial Reformers shines the more brilliantly. Professor Harlow has departed from that tradition. In the first volume of his *Foundations of the Second British Empire* he revealed the immense range of imperial interests which engaged the attention of British statesmen even while the struggle with the American colonies was in progress. That has now been followed by a collection of documents, a companion work to the narrative history, that is no less revealing. The constitutional problem is fully illustrated, but only as one among many problems with which the Colonial Office had to deal. In practice the method was no doubt empirical, but the policy was based on certain fairly definite principles. On the one side the purpose was to establish in Canada "the perfect equipoise of the British constitution," as a counter to American republicanism; and on the other to govern the non-British dependencies through a system of crown colony government, dictatorial in many of its powers, but tempered in practice by the doctrine of trusteeship, already a strong and a growing influence in the Colonial Office. A large part of this section of the book consists of documents relating to the evolution of this system of crown colony government. With these is included a good deal of material on problems of representative government, mainly in Canada, Ireland, and the West Indies. Here, as elsewhere, the editors have selected documents that are not easily available in other collections. The Quebec Act and the Constitutional Act of 1791 are reprinted as essential to an understanding of conditions in Canada; but most of the other material is less well known.

About one-third of the volume consists of documents relating to commercial expansion and to the problems created by the independence of the United States and the establishment of autonomy in Ireland. The most interesting of these, ranging from the secret instructions to Captain Cook to numerous projects attempted by the East India Company, illustrate the drive to secure a monopoly of trade in the Indian and Pacific oceans, a movement that was well under way before the American Revolution began. The attempts to regulate trade under a "modified form of the old colonial system" was maintained throughout the period; but this older concept was losing ground before the advance of free trade doctrines, and "imperial monopoly" was being gradually replaced by a "system of reciprocal concessions." The two major problems, both

fully illustrated here, were the adjustment of trade relations between the West Indies and the United States, and the incorporation of newly acquired territory, in South Africa and elsewhere, into the older system.

Of the subjects that remain emigration was perhaps the most widely discussed; and one of the most valuable sections of this book consists of statements of public bodies, parliamentary committees, missionaries, social reformers and others on the advisability of aiding, or, in some cases, of preventing the working classes from migrating to the colonies. Opinion was by no means unanimous; and a number of newspaper articles are cited, contrasting the hardships of pioneer life in the Canadian wilderness with the opportunities offered by the expanding economy of the mother country. Linked to this question of emigration was the policy of establishing order and security in the frontier districts of the newly forming colonies and of protecting the native peoples with whom the settlers came into contact. Missionary societies and other humanitarian bodies were active during these years, and their influence on colonial policy was already apparent. Their campaigns on behalf of the slaves and the backward peoples coming under the dominion of the Crown are here given a good deal of space. The policy which emerges from these records was in many cases experimental, and no doubt much of it was ineffectual. But it is clear that the government was aware of its responsibilities, and the public, or certain sections of it, were concerned to see that those responsibilities were discharged.

The two volumes of documents and speeches edited by Professor Mansergh form a curious contrast to this early record of tentative and experimental administration. They begin with the Statute of Westminster, the culmination of a peaceful and orderly development which no one could have foreseen in the years when the first Reform Act was being passed and slavery was being abolished in the Empire. The seed from which the Commonwealth was to grow was no doubt there, and it was beginning to strike root in the North American colonies. But elsewhere, in the penal settlements at Botany Bay and in Tasmania, among the merchants and whalers who were establishing themselves in New Zealand, or in the alien community recently taken over at the Cape of Good Hope, there was little to indicate the change that would come within the century. With that development Professor Mansergh is not concerned. His book is in effect a continuation of the two collections edited by the late Professor Keith, one on dominion status, the other on constitutional development in India.

Constitutional questions, in the narrow sense of the term, are given comparatively little space. The debate on status, which filled the 1920's, has been ended; and, apart from the Statute of Westminster and the legislation which followed, especially in South Africa and the Irish Free State, little mention is made of it. The abdication of Edward VIII and the accession of her present Majesty provide occasions for further and more precise definition, illustrated by statements from leaders in all the dominions. There is, too, an important section on citizenship and nationality, including the legislation adopted in Britain and the several dominions. But greater space is given to the discussions among the member states on problems of defence and foreign policy, economic and financial co-operation, and the co-ordination of plans and policies during and after the war. These include passages from the reports

of the Ottawa Conference and the last of the old Imperial Conferences in 1937, together with a good deal of correspondence on the project of reviving the old Imperial War Cabinet in 1940.

The documents on India would form a substantial volume in themselves. They include, in addition to the Act of 1935 and some of the more important passages from the new republican constitution, many statements from the Congress, the Moslem League, and virtually every group which took part in the great debate. The one exception is the more extreme conservative group in Parliament led by Mr. Churchill in the 1930's. An interesting contrast is provided by the "objectives" resolutions issued by the governments of India and Pakistan immediately after the partition. In the case of Pakistan this is all that is yet available to indicate the nature of the new dominion's constitution.

Professor Mansergh has gone beyond the limits of the present Commonwealth and has included a number of documents on the proposed federations of the West Indies and the Central and East African dependencies, as well as some material illustrating recent constitutional development in West Africa. Some of the later sections of the book consist of documents illustrating the part taken by members of the Commonwealth in the work of the United Nations and related bodies. One striking feature of this collection is the wealth of material that comes, not from British, but from dominion sources. The task of selection must have been difficult. The result is as near to being definitive as could be achieved at the present time. This is the most complete collection of the kind that exists for any period in the history of the Commonwealth; and it would be difficult to suggest any aspect of the changes and discussions that have taken place in these two decades that is not here fully illustrated. For the student and the teacher of Commonwealth history this is one of the indispensable books.

The time is still distant when anything like a final appraisal of the effects of British rule in India can be attempted; but the material is accumulating, and some of these recent books will be of great value in making such an appraisal. Among them this latest volume of Sir Percy Griffiths will hold a high place. It is in part a narrative history, written with an unusual degree of objectivity and with a sympathetic understanding of the Indian people and their reaction to an alien government that is not common among the official class to which the author belongs. Comparatively little space is given to political and constitutional development. The greater part of the book, and that which will give it its real value, consists of a scholarly analysis of the growth and functioning of the various administrative services, some of them original creations by the British, many of them taken over from the Mogul Empire and adapted to the altered conditions of the nineteenth century.

This part of the book is based in large measure on Indian sources, many of them from a very early period; and with this material at his command the author makes some interesting comparisons between the type of administration to which the Indian people had long been accustomed and that which was provided under British rule. The advantage clearly lies with the British system, a judgment that is evidently shared by the rulers of the new India, who have taken it over almost in its entirety. But it does not escape some searching criticism. It was remarkably efficient; it was incorruptible; and it was based on a genuine respect for personal freedom and adherence to a known rule of law, a feature which distinguished it from anything previously known in

India. But it had the defects that are seemingly inseparable from the rule of an alien bureaucracy. It was remotely impersonal and largely insensitive to the feelings of the Indian people and to new currents of thought; and in the end it became a machine so powerful as to frustrate the efforts of any reforming viceroy who dared to tamper with it. Its success in any region depended upon the ability and integrity of the district officer; and while there were many at all times who possessed the requisite qualities, there were many too who came to regard the smooth running of the machine as an end in itself.

There is here no disparagement of Indian civilization. On the contrary, Indian institutions and the various systems of thought which so deeply influence the lives of the people are fully and fairly considered. But the purpose is to estimate the British impact; and the emphasis is on administration because, in the author's opinion, that is the vehicle through which Western influence was brought most fully and most fruitfully to bear. His conclusion is challenging. Indian critics are wont to condemn Western civilization as wholly materialist; but the suggestion is here made that when the balance is struck, it may well be that it is in the spiritual rather than the material sphere that the British impact has been most evident and most enduring.

Much of Sir Percy Griffiths' work will probably be of greater interest to the specialist than to the general reader. That is true also of Miss Sutherland's closely documented account of the political fortunes of the East India Company in the eighteenth century. This is in a very real sense a pioneer work. The East India Company flits in and out of most of the political narratives of the period, especially when its affairs impinge on the careers of any of the leading statesmen; but no serious effort has hitherto been made to explain the internal politics of the Company, or the curious and rapidly changing relationships between its governing body and the various groups contending for power in the state. There may be some obscure by-ways of the subject which have not been fully explored; but Miss Sutherland's work appears to be very thorough, and there can be little doubt that it will be the starting point for any further investigation. It is at once a chapter in the history of the Company and in the history of eighteenth-century politics; and in both directions it opens up new vistas.

During the long period of Whig rule the problem was comparatively simple. The rival company, formed in the reign of William III, had been absorbed. There were no serious rivals to Walpole and Newcastle. The directors were therefore free to apply themselves to their proper business of expanding commerce and amassing profits; and in both they were remarkably successful. The change came with Clive's victories in Bengal and with the breakdown of political stability which followed the accession of George III. It became necessary for the Company to establish relations, not only with the group in power, but with others which might at any time replace it, and to agree upon a policy suited to the new conditions in India. A substantial part of the book consists of a minutely detailed account of the complex struggle which ensued. Within the Company the opposing groups were led by Clive and Lawrence Sullivan, one of the many Irish adventurers who appear in India in these years. Their contest threw the Company's affairs into confusion, and was not the least of the causes of the deplorable results that followed in India.

The latter part of the book deals with the slow and timid advance to some

form of parliamentary control; and as a study of eighteenth-century politics these are the most illuminating chapters. No one had any real policy. Miss Sutherland disposes effectively of the legend of Chatham's lofty and statesmanlike plan for the government of India; and where Chatham was wanting, little was to be expected of the lesser men. In the end a policy emerged out of the ideas of two groups: Fox and Burke and the Whigs on one side, and the efficient administrators, Jenkinson, Robinson, and Dundas, on the other. Pitt's India Act, which is not dealt with here, was based upon the work of these men. He himself does not come out of the story with a reputation quite so impeccable as that which his admirers have given him. He accepted the necessity of reform, but the events of 1783 make it plain that his reform would be one to which the Company had already given its assent.

The judgment on Burke is of some interest in the light of much that has been written in recent years. He took up the question originally for party motives, to some extent, indeed, for personal and family motives; but he soon moved on to higher ground. "When once he had immersed himself in the subject," says Miss Sutherland, "he found himself carried far beyond considerations of party and of persons by his passionate desire to protect the weak from the oppression of the strong." The plan of government that was emerging was fashioned by the administrators, whose concern was with order and efficiency; but it was Burke, more clearly than any other, who formulated the best of the principles upon which it was based.

In the generations that followed there were many among the Company servants who were building the fabric of British rule in India to whom these principles were not empty forms. They are the men, Munro, Elphinstone, Malcolm, the Lawrence brothers, and some others, who figure most prominently in Mr. Woodruff's sketches of the builders. These are the giants, the outstanding personalities whose character and achievement have impressed themselves on the minds of later historians. But they do not stand alone. The author's intention is not merely to re-tell the history of these few, but to rescue the memory of many others whose work in their day was perhaps no less important.

The method is biographical. Apart from a few chapters describing life in India at various times from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the Mutiny, the book consists of a series of sketches explaining the careers of these men and the way in which they carried out the varied, and often extremely difficult tasks assigned to them. They were not all estimable characters; but most of them were men whose work deserves to be remembered. Mr. Woodruff writes of them with admiration and affection. His sympathies are with the few who condemned the practice of excluding Indians from any share in the government of their country and who looked forward to the time when they would be trained to assume that responsibility. This is not primarily a specialist's book. It contains a great deal that will be of value to the serious student of Indian history; but it is a book for everyone who has any interest in what was being done in India during the century before the Mutiny and in the men, some of them very remarkable men, who were doing it. Mr. Woodruff's next volume will be awaited with some interest.

The biography of Lord Ripon, which comes fittingly from the pen of an Indian scholar, is the record of one viceroy who attempted to alter the established pattern, and to give reality to the ideal so clearly stated in the

Queen's Proclamation in 1858. It is a scholarly piece of work, based in large part on manuscript sources, and written with a clarity and simplicity ideally suited to the subject-matter. Mr. Gopal regards Ripon's administration as a turning point in Anglo-Indian relations, the necessary prelude to the changes which led "to the fulfilment of British rule in the independence of India and the close partnership which now exists." Ripon's own countrymen, particularly those residing in India, took a very different view. They regarded it as a simple betrayal of the interests of the Empire, and they did their utmost to frustrate all the measures of reform which he attempted. In that they were eminently successful.

The result is that Mr. Gopal has no great record of achievement to chronicle. The reversal of his predecessor's futile and wasteful frontier policy was Ripon's only success. In almost everything that he attempted in the way of internal reform in India he failed; and the reasons for the failure are made very plain. They stem in part from Ripon's own character. He had none of the political finesse which the situation required. He was confronted by a powerful and highly organized opposition; and he received very little support from the Secretary of State and his council. Mr. Gopal describes in detail his projected measures for the development of local government and for the reform of the educational system, the military establishment, the labour laws, and the judiciary. The chapter on the struggle over the Ilbert bill is the best account of that unfortunate episode that has been written. Most people would now regard these measures as salutary and necessary. But it was beyond Ripon's power—perhaps it was beyond the power of any viceroy in the 1880's—to carry them through. It was something, though, that the attempt was made; and Mr. Gopal's account helps to explain why Lord Ripon was, and why he has remained, something of a hero to the people of India.

One quality in Lord Ripon which attracted many Indian leaders was his high sense of the importance of moral and religious considerations applied in the field of politics. That made no appeal to his own countrymen; but his rule coincided with a religious revival in India that has had a far-reaching influence on all the later development. This is the central theme of Mr. Spear's little book, now published in a second and slightly enlarged edition. The terms India and Pakistan in the title may be read as Hinduism and Mohammedanism. The book is in substance a study of the clash of these two systems of thought with one another, and of both with the body of Western ideas that were permeating the country under British rule.

The added chapter relates the course of events since 1949, and the struggle for Kashmir is naturally the point of interest. That struggle is important in itself for obvious reasons. It is no less important in Mr. Spear's judgment as a symbol of the deeper and seemingly irreconcilable conflict between the two ways of life that are now represented in the new states. The problem for each of these communities is that of absorbing what the West has to offer without sacrificing its own distinctive character and values. His book is a brief but an illuminating survey of how that challenge has arisen and how it is being met. His approach differs from that of Sir Percy Griffiths, but his conclusions are not dissimilar. The distinctive contribution of British rule has been the creation of something that had not previously existed—a middle class of educated men, familiar at once with Western and with Indian thought, to whom the responsibility for the government of their country must eventually

have been surrendered. But that creation did not affect the inner conflict in Indian life; and without some mode of resolving that conflict, which Mr. Gandhi himself was unable to discover, the withdrawal must have ended in partition, or in a wasteful and devastating struggle for power. This is a short book; but it is at certain points a more penetrating analysis of the Indian problem than will be found in many more ambitious essays; and the author's conclusions find some confirmation in the very different spirit and outlook revealed in the "objectives" resolutions appended to the constitutions of India and Pakistan.

The transfer of power was accomplished with less difficulty than might have been anticipated; and one of the striking features of the settlement was the ease with which the native rulers were brought into line. The rulers of Kashmir and Hyderabad were the only important exceptions; and an effective form of persuasion has been used to bring the latter under the dominion of the Indian republic. The problem of Kashmir remains. For almost seven years it has been the cause of conflict between the two new states; and no settlement is in sight. Mr. Brecher, who has studied the problem on the spot, has written an admirably clear and balanced account of the struggle and of its implications for the two rivals. His work is prefaced by a short history of the province from the establishment of the Dogra dynasty by the East India Company in 1846. The remainder of the book is based on the great mass of material that has already accumulated in the files of the two governments and in those of the United Nations.

Both India and Pakistan regard the possession of the territory as a matter of vital necessity. Mr. Brecher refrains from passing judgment on the rival claims; but on the record there seems to be some truth in the view that for India it is a question of prestige, for Pakistan almost a matter of life and death. In one sense the struggle is a manifestation in an acute form of the old communal strife between Hindus and Moslems; but there are material considerations as well, markets, the control of the sources of important rivers, and access to the supposed mineral wealth of the region. On this latter point Mr. Brecher apparently has some doubts, and he is inclined to rate the economic value of the country lower than some of the arguments on both sides would suggest.

The dispute has been before the United Nations since January, 1948, when the government of India formally charged Pakistan with aggression. Three separate commissions have been sent to the region, in addition to the attempts made by General McNaughton acting as an "informal mediator." Volumes of reports have been submitted, and efforts have been made at meetings of the Commonwealth prime ministers to find a solution. But no agreement has been possible on the conditions under which the proposed plebiscite should be held. The only result so far achieved has been to put an end to the actual fighting. Mr. Brecher suggests some reasons for thinking that a popular vote would not follow strict communal lines. The present government of Kashmir has carried out some salutary reforms, and its general policies are very much in line with those of the Congress party in India. The future is uncertain, but the continuance of the stalemate appears to have some advantage for India.

In his amusing series of letters published under the name of *The Hill of Devi*, Mr. E. M. Forster presents a picture of a native Indian state of a very

different kind. The book takes its name from that of a shrine overlooking the palace of the Maharaja of Dewas Senior, for whom Mr. Forster acted as secretary and general factotum for a time in the early 1920's. It can hardly be supposed that Dewas was a typical state, much less that its ruler, described by Mr. Forster as "certainly a genius and probably a saint," was a fair representative of his class. The place was described by an English official as "the oddest corner in the world outside Alice in Wonderland"; and this account more than bears out the description. The Maharaja's vagaries got him into difficulties with the British government, and in the end he was forced to flee to Pondicherry, where he died, bankrupt and forgotten. He and his state were museum pieces, but this record is worth preserving. The book is literature, and literature of a kind that only Mr. Forster could produce; but it is also a curious and interesting historical document.

Sir James Brooke, the founder of the Brooke dynasty in Sarawak, had no very evident marks of sanctity; but he too was a genius of sorts; at least he was an original character with a considerable capacity for taking pains. Miss Hahn's story of his life is a popular biography in the best sense of the term; the record of an interesting and varied career, based on good historical evidence, and written with imagination and with a sense of humour which prevents her from taking either the subject or herself too seriously. More ambitious books have been written about Brooke, most of them by men who knew him and were profoundly impressed by his character and his unique achievement; but one can imagine that this is a record which Brooke himself would enjoy to read.

He might have been one of the builders whose deeds are related by Mr. Woodruff. But he disliked the military life in which he began, and he revolted against the officialdom and the spirit of commercialism which, as he saw it, pervaded and deadened the whole establishment in India. The establishment of his rule in a corner of the island of Borneo was almost fortuitous. For long the British government refused to recognize him, except to conduct occasional investigations to find out what he was doing. But the radicals, Joseph Hume foremost among them, saw in him an exploiting imperialist of the usual type, and they developed a passionate sympathy for the unfortunate natives subjected to his supposedly tyrannical rule. Miss Hahn has little difficulty in showing that it was a remarkably enlightened form of rule, original and somewhat peculiar in its methods, but beneficial beyond anything previously known to those who lived under it. Her description of life in the island, of its curious politics and its even more curious forms of warfare, is not the least interesting part of this thoroughly interesting book.

In Africa, as in Asia, the problem of the relations between European settlers and the native peoples has become a matter of vital concern to the whole world. Books on the subject pour from the presses in prodigious numbers, some of them careful and thoughtful studies of a human problem that is baffling in its complexity, some of them glib and confident prescriptions, more the result, it would seem, of emotional reaction than of a sober appraisal of the facts. The facts themselves are eloquent; and they have seldom been set down more briefly or more cogently than in Mr. Bartlett's *Struggle for Africa*. The population of the continent south of the Sahara consists of three million Europeans, half a million Asiatics, and one hundred and thirty million Africans. The human

population and the animal population are steadily increasing. The area of uneroded land is steadily diminishing. Almost everywhere a national or racial consciousness has developed among the African people, and events in the Gold Coast, the Transvaal, or elsewhere produce a quick reaction in other regions. These are the elements of the equation; and Mr. Bartlett is surely right in suggesting that, if a solution is to be found, it must be on the basis of a frankly recognized equality.

His survey, the result of several extensive tours, sketches the partial and local solutions that are being attempted in various regions. Two of the most interesting are those in the Belgian Congo and in a fertile area in the interior of Tanganyika, where an effective scheme of co-operation has been developed among the African farmers, under the guidance of an enlightened British official. His chapters on the Gold Coast and Nigeria are illuminating, but they do not encourage the hope that the constitutional experiments now in progress will provide a speedy or satisfactory solution.

The Union of South Africa naturally attracts more notice than any other region; and here Mr. Bartlett's conclusions are anything but optimistic. He is convinced, as is almost everyone else, that the policy of *apartheid* must fail, and that its continuance is fraught with danger for all sections of the community. The motives behind it are not difficult to appreciate. They derive in part from the history of the Boer people; but there are potent causes in the present situation. "It is because the most efficient of the natives have achieved a higher standard than the least efficient of the Europeans that this problem has become so acute." That fact is clearly understood by the Europeans, but there are very few of them who are prepared to make a stand against the nationalists on principle. Malan and his party have antagonized everyone. The atmosphere is poisoned with hatred and suspicion; and the bitterest of the hatreds at the moment is between the two sections of the white community, "whose apparent reconciliation forty years ago was looked upon as such a triumph for tolerance and good sense."

This book is not cheerful reading. There is little in it to encourage the hope that good sense and tolerance will soon gain the ascendent, either in South Africa or in any other part of the continent. Mr. Bartlett describes Africa as a hinterland to Europe. What happens there concerns the people of Europe only less than those of Africa itself. He has no simple solution, and he is far from telling the white settlers in any part of Africa how to manage their affairs. His book is simply a record, balanced, objective, and written with sympathy and understanding of all parties, of what is actually happening in this hinterland.

This problem of race relations in the Union is dealt with more extensively in the two books by Mr. Marquard and Miss Patterson. The first of these, the work of a South African liberal, is one of the sanest and most reasonable studies of the subject that has ever been written. The conclusions underline those reached by Mr. Bartlett. They are the more impressive because they are based on a clear and detailed analysis of the whole complex structure of South African society. The title is appropriate. It is in fact a study of the various peoples—occasionally the author refers to them as nations—who inhabit this "house divided against itself"; and the differences that divide them have seldom been explained more clearly, or the probable consequences of present

policies stated more bluntly. If Dr. Malan has any thought of equipping himself with powers to silence criticism, Mr. Marquard will be one of the first on whom the axe will fall.

In essence this book is an appeal for union of the two European groups and a more rational approach to the problem of their relations with the native and the coloured population; and it is written with a sense of urgency that cannot be mistaken. The policy of the present Government will, he believes, "induce an anti-European nationalism among the Africans, which will weaken the country in peace and in war, and which must in the long run lead to revolt." But on the record as here presented, there seems little hope of reversing that policy. Dr. Malan and his party have all the cards. The administrative services are in theory outside politics. In practice they are being manned from top to bottom by the most zealous supporters of the present Government. The party derives its strength in large measure from the rural districts; and their subsidies to agriculture ensure a continuance of that support. Mr. Marquard describes South African agriculture as "a gigantic system of outdoor relief"; and the same methods are applied in other branches of industry. The conclusion is obvious. The Afrikaner party is in a position "to generate its own power." The opposition may hold up such measures as that intended to remove the coloured voters from the common electoral roll in the Cape Province. But there is little prospect of any radical change in the balance of political power, and even less that Dr. Malan's supporters will be weakened in their allegiance by the illiberal policy now being carried out.

The scope of Miss Patterson's work is more limited, but within those limits it is a penetrating searchlight on certain aspects of South African society. The book is in the main a sociological study of the coloured population, replete with instructive detail on every aspect of their life, and supported by some interesting comparisons of their lot with that of the comparable group in the United States. The author traces their history from the middle years of the nineteenth century, and explains the mass of legislation affecting them that has been passed by the Union Parliament. It is a record of undisguised discrimination; and under existing conditions that is not likely to be altered, unless for the purpose of further curtailing their already limited rights. Their weakness is due to their disunity, their lack of education, and their inability to produce effective leadership. So far their political rights remain as they were defined in the Union Act; but that is in jeopardy, and their voting strength is so weak and so dispersed that neither party is under the necessity of shaping its policy to secure their support. The Unionist party has a programme of social reform, but it is in very general terms, it does not contemplate any serious amendment of the colour bar laws, and it is never pressed to the point where it would alienate Boer voters. In the circumstances there seems little prospect of improvement, or of escape for this unfortunate group from the political and social no man's land which they now occupy.

To turn from this difficult and depressing situation in South Africa to Miss Tennant's little book on Australia is something of a relief. As a history of the Australian colonies or of the Commonwealth since 1900 the book is sketchy and incomplete. But the author has an eye for the picturesque, a useful gift in one who sets out to tell a story rather than to write a history in the grand manner; and in the record of the Australian people, especially in "the grim

days of convict settlement," there is much that is picturesque. The chapters on this period are the best in the book; and Miss Tennant's account of some of the emancipists rescues from oblivion a number of men whose work deserves to be remembered. The political narrative is thin, and even less consideration is given to constitutional questions. But the book achieves its purpose. The colouring is at times a bit lurid, but it is a real picture of a society in the making.

American scholars have written some notable books on Australia during the past few years; and Miss Overacker's volume on the Australian party system will have a place among the best of these. The substance of the book is a detailed study of the structure and working of the Labour party, the one group which has a continuous organization antedating the Commonwealth, and the one whose policies and techniques have in fact determined the pattern of Australian politics. The Labour party is central and seemingly permanent. The others, by whatever names they may be designated, are in fact "parties of resistance." In that respect Australia is unique. It may be, as the publishers suggest, that the labour movement in the United States can learn a good deal from this book. But the most evident conclusion is that this distinctive party system has grown naturally out of the economic and social conditions that have persisted in Australia since the closing years of the nineteenth century. The organization and the policies may be imitated elsewhere. The circumstances out of which they have grown cannot be reproduced.

The key to the whole is the trade union organization, which is at once the strength of the party and the factor which sets limits to its growth. In theory it is socialist. In practice it is strictly empirical; and it is to this combination that the author attributes the continued success of the party. Other parties have been forced to adopt much of Labour's policy, and wherever possible to copy its organization. On the whole they have been less successful, partly because none of them has an assured base of support comparable to that given by the trade unions. No other party can by itself challenge labour; and the alternative is always a coalition of groups united by their common fear of too much socialism. The nearest parallel is the Country party; but the farmers on whom it relies have neither the numbers nor the disciplined unity of the trade unions.

Miss Overacker has assembled an immense amount of detail on all these parties as they operate in the states and in the Commonwealth. Some of it is repetitious, but this is on the whole an interesting and an illuminating account of a system that has its roots deep in the soil of Australian democracy. She does not share the view of some observers that the methods of the Labour party contain a danger to democratic and parliamentary government. Their discipline and organization are important; but the party, like its rivals, must depend upon the votes of a people that remains thoroughly individualistic and firmly attached to its parliamentary institutions and to the principles of western liberalism.

Sir Frederic Eggleston's *Reflections of an Australian Liberal* come as a timely commentary. His book is based on forty years' experience in the public life of his state and of the Commonwealth, including some years as minister to China and to the United States and membership on several occasions in the assembly of the United Nations. He writes with personal knowledge of the

government and the party system which he describes; and his conclusions are not so sanguine as those of the American scholar. His first chapter is entitled "Leadership," and that is the theme which runs through the book. His final judgment could be summed up in the statement that "a democracy which fails to produce leaders condemns itself"; and he is more than a little doubtful about the ability of the leaders who have controlled the affairs of the Commonwealth during the past generation. He describes Chifley as "the most powerful personality ever seen in federal politics," the one man in recent years who was able to "impose his will on his party." For the rest, Hughes, Lyons, Curtin, Page, and many more, he has little to say.

Sir Frederic has no fear of dictatorship or of the rule of the demagogue. "The Australian," he observes, "has a good nose for humbug." The danger comes from the creeping paralysis of mediocrity; and the present scheme of politics in Australia, largely the result of the place held by the Labour party, puts a premium on mediocrity. The effect is seen in every institution in the country. The forms of parliamentary government are preserved, but the essence is rapidly departing from them. Political parties no longer stand for principles in any real sense of the term. They are, with the possible exception of the small Liberal party, the representatives of vested interests, constrained to adhere to the policies that will appeal to the most timid and the least enlightened of their tightly disciplined supporters.

This may be dismissed as the lamentations of an old-line liberal born out of season. But it is more than that. It is a penetrating analysis of the problems that confront every democracy in the modern world. Sir Frederic's liberalism is not an arid form of laissez-faire. He accepts the welfare state as an inevitable consequence of industrialism. He is prepared for a form of socialism not unlike that implicit in Hobhouse's analysis of liberalism. His book is intended "to raise problems, not to dictate simple solutions." The problems which he raises are of peculiar importance to the people of Australia. They are hardly less important to the people of Canada, and of every other community for whom the essence of democracy still has any meaning.

Mr. McDowell's *Public Opinion and Government Policy in Ireland, 1801-1846* is the record of a very different type of community seeking to adjust itself to the conditions created by the Union of Ireland with Great Britain in 1800, the one act in the history of the Empire which attempted to incorporate a colonial dependency into the metropolitan state. The experiment was unsuccessful, and this study of Irish public opinion during the period throws a good deal of light on the reasons for the failure. There was of course no opinion that can properly be described as public. There were many opinions on many issues; and this account of the reactions of the various groups to the measures that were attempted, or more usually, the measures that were urgently required, but never attempted, will be a valuable aid to a more rational interpretation of the period. The book is remarkably objective. Like the other volumes in this series it affords welcome evidence that the passion and prejudice that have clouded so much of the written history of these years are disappearing, at least among the best of the Irish historians.

The Union brought little real change. The gentlemen who moved from College Green to Westminster in 1801 merged easily into the life of the British Parliament, and it was not until after 1832 that Irish members appeared

"who were disagreeably different from the English M.P.s." "The Castle" remained impregnable. Mr. McDowell refers occasionally to an extensive reform of the whole administrative system; but he gives little evidence on the point; and, whatever its value, it certainly did not change the view of the mass of the Irish people on "this symbol of an alien and unsympathetic rule." One change of great and lasting importance is passed over lightly. Ulster had been the centre of revolutionary action in the 1790's, and of the most determined opposition to the Union. Apart from a few general remarks about the growing prosperity of the region, Mr. McDowell gives no explanation of the change to the more familiar Ulster of later times.

Some of the best chapters in the book are those on the period of Whig rule in the 1830's. A few of the projected Whig reforms did reach the statute book, but only after years of bitter and disillusioning struggle. Others were frustrated by the opposition of the Protestant Ascendancy, still the most powerful group in Ireland. The author pays tribute to the ability and the intentions of such men as Russell, Normanby, Morpeth, and Drummond; and he handles the question of O'Connell's relations with the Whigs in a way that can be commended to his countrymen on both sides of the controversy. This book does not attempt to answer the major questions of Anglo-Irish relationship. But it helps to explain why the Union and the form of government provided under it failed to commend themselves to the mass of the Irish people, and why the dissolution, when it did come, was the result, not of reason and agreement, but of a revolutionary upheaval similar to that out of which the Union had grown.

One stirring chapter in that struggle is related in Mr. Hyde's life of Lord Carson. This is the best biography of the Ulster leader that has been written, and it is certain to appeal to a wide circle of readers. Mr. Hyde's skill as a historian and a biographer has already been demonstrated; and in this book he has a subject which he knows intimately and which engages the whole of his sympathy. His legal training serves him well in the sections on Carson's well-known cases in the courts; and for many these will perhaps be the most interesting parts of the book.

For the student of Commonwealth affairs the most important section is that which re-tells the familiar story of Carson's leadership of the Ulster unionists during the crisis of the Home Rule bill between 1912 and 1914. The author identifies himself wholly with the stand taken by his fellow Ulstermen. In certain passages he justifies Carson's action on the ground that without his leadership the movement in Ulster would have issued in mob violence instead of the orderly, disciplined resistance which did develop. But justification is hardly necessary. Mr. Hyde assumes as self-evident the moral righteousness, if not indeed the constitutional propriety of the whole campaign in Ulster. Given that premise, he writes with commendable objectivity, although, as might be expected, the nationalist movement in Ireland is dismissed as scarcely meriting notice.

His account of Carson's life is based in large measure on unpublished letters and other manuscript material that has not previously been used. From these he adds some details to the political narrative. What is more important in a biography, he paints a vivid and a convincing portrait of a truly remarkable man. One typical passage may be cited. It was written to a private

correspondent early in the struggle. "I earnestly hope," said Carson, "that all the liberated hate of the innate savagery of the human being will be brought to play on those who are prepared to adopt the role of vandals." That is the spirit in which Carson approached a human and a constitutional problem of great difficulty. He accepted the settlement in Ulster in 1920, albeit with evident reluctance; and in his later years, removed to the calmer atmosphere of the appeal court, he took little part in politics. But his opinion never wavered, and his iron-bound conservatism applied not only to Ireland. Speaking in opposition to the Government of India bill in 1935, he ridiculed the plan of "securities" which the bill contained. No safeguards that could be devised, he declared, were proof against men who were determined to have their way. There have been few men better qualified to pass judgment on that particular point.

Carson and the unionists find another champion of high literary distinction in Mr. L. S. Amery, whose recently published memoirs present a lively picture of political life in England during the first thirty years of the century. These two volumes are the record of a remarkable career spent in the service of an ideal that has been found unacceptable to most people in the Commonwealth. In his later years Mr. Amery has come to accept the form of association tentatively defined in the report of 1926, and stated in more precise terms in the Statute of Westminster. Indeed he played an important part in the preparation of the report and in the division within the Colonial Office which led to the creation of a separate Department of Commonwealth Affairs. But that is not the form which he would have chosen. At the beginning of his public life he came under the influence of Joseph Chamberlain, then at the height of his powers as Colonial Secretary; and he found in Chamberlain's imperialism the solution, not alone for the problems of Britain and the Empire, but for those of the whole world. That conviction was strengthened by his association with Lord Milner while serving as *Times* correspondent during the South African war; and to it he has remained constant through all the changes of the past half century.

The controversy over the Home Rule bill in 1912 may not have been the most important of the many contests of the kind in which Mr. Amery has been engaged, although there is a good deal to be said for the view that the campaign of violence that followed in Ireland, bringing with it the defeat of Redmond and the moderates and the triumph of men who regarded any compromise on the question of Irish nationhood as something infamous, stemmed directly from the work of Carson and his volunteers. Mr. Amery himself would probably rate Chamberlain's campaign for tariff reform as more important. But this battle over home rule was typical; and it is the one episode of the kind in which the policy supported by Mr. Amery did in a measure prevail. In one respect his account differs from that by Mr. Hyde. He says very little of the religious situation in Ireland, which was central in all of Carson's arguments. For him the major questions were economic and constitutional. His own proposal, here summarized from a little book published at the time, was a form of federation, presumably based on one of Chamberlain's early plans for an Irish settlement; and it is reasonable to suppose that this was intended as the preliminary to the general federation of the Empire envisaged in Chamberlain's speech to the Colonial Conference in 1897. The time

had passed for that solution, if indeed it had ever been a possibility. But Mr. Amery was strangely impervious to the passage of time and the changes which it brought.

The more satisfying parts of the record are those in which Mr. Amery describes the steps taken, especially during his years at the Colonial Office, to give effect to many of Chamberlain's projected reforms in the dependent colonies. If his efforts to "consolidate" the whole Empire in the way that his master would have had it were unsuccessful, he did very much to improve conditions in those parts which still lie outside the Commonwealth in its narrower sense. Very little occurred in England during these years in which Mr. Amery did not have a part, often an important part; and from his diaries and correspondence, his published speeches, and his many books and pamphlets, he has re-created the moving scene in a manner that will have a strong attraction even for those who do not agree with his ideas. He took some share—the memoir suggests a decisive share—in the formation of the Empire Parliamentary Association, the Empire Press Association, even the Imperial War Cabinet. He met everybody, in England and from the dominions; and one interesting feature of his book is the gallery of pen portraits of all the leading figures of the period. With most of these men he disagreed; but his scathing criticism of their imperial policy, or lack of it, is usually accompanied by some tribute to their personal qualities. Sir Wilfrid Laurier is an exception; and he quotes with evident glee the comment of a South African who dismissed the Canadian leader as a "French dancing master."

The tour of the dominions following the Conference of 1926 is described in some of the best chapters in the book. South Africa was the sensitive spot; and Mr. Amery reprints passages from the speeches in which he endeavoured to convince the sceptical Boer audiences that this new commonwealth was theirs, and that all trace of the old ideas of superiority and subordination had been eliminated. But that tour was undertaken with some reluctance. Having completed the work of the Conference, Mr. Amery desired to transfer his activities to another sphere. He was dissatisfied with Mr. Churchill's fiscal policy; and he reproduces the letter to the Prime Minister in which he proposed that the Chancellor should be moved to another department, and that he should take his place. "I know," he said, "that with two budgets of preparation and two or three more of fulfilment I could lay the foundations for the next hundred years of a new England and a new empire as no one else could."

That was the last serious attempt to secure the means of doing what Chamberlain had been unable to do. Through all his life Mr. Amery was sustained by the belief that, by some means or other, the great ideal of a "consolidated empire" must prevail. But there is a passage in these later pages in which, reflecting on the turn which events had taken, he asks wearily, "will it ever come?" Of the many books that Mr. Amery has written this will be the most enduring. It is a historic document of high importance, written with the charm that comes of an incisive prose style joined to absolute certitude. Its value would be enhanced if the writer could persuade himself that those who disagreed with him were moved by anything other than inertia, indifference to a great ideal, or selfish preoccupation with their own narrow

interests. He has played a conspicuous part in the evolution of the Commonwealth, even if that evolution has been on lines very different from those which he would have preferred. It is unfortunate that he can see so little that is worth while in the ideals of others whose part has been no less significant.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Histoire de la Louisiane française: Le règne de Louis XIV. Vol. I. Par MARCEL GIRAUD. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [Montréal: Librairie Ducharme]. 1953. Pp. 368. \$7.00.

L'AUTEUR entreprend dans ce volume, qui sera vraisemblablement suivi de plusieurs autres, d'exposer l'histoire de la Louisiane sous le régime français. Il y a longtemps que le besoin d'un tel travail d'ensemble se fait sentir. S'il s'est écrit un nombre considérable d'études spécialisées portant sur une série limitée de faits, un personnage, un aspect ou une période de l'histoire de la Louisiane, il existe en revanche, dans cette matière, une pénurie réelle d'ouvrages généraux, et la plupart de ceux qu'on peut consulter sont ou bien désuets ou bien, le professeur Giraud en fait la remarque, conçus dans un esprit étranger à « l'esprit scientifique ». C'est cette lacune que le présent travail s'efforce de combler. Disons tout de suite qu'il y parvient fort honorablement.

Il se divise en trois parties qui correspondent à autant de périodes : les débuts de la colonisation, la guerre de la Succession d'Espagne et la fin du règne de Louis XIV. La première période s'inscrit dans le prolongement des tentatives équivoques de Cavalier de la Salle et comporte l'analyse des conditions difficiles au milieu desquelles Le Moyne d'Iberville mit sur pied les premiers établissements louisianais. Viennent ensuite les années du conflit : elles compromettent une œuvre péniblement engagée et menacent l'existence même du nouveau pays en raison de la profonde insécurité qu'elles provoquent, de la crise des finances et du peuplement qu'elles entraînent, de la misère et des dissensions qui les accompagnent. La fin de la guerre pourrait déterminer un nouveau départ de la colonisation, mais la métropole manque une des rares occasions qui s'offrent à elle d'activer le peuplement de la vallée du Mississippi ; au contraire, elle laisse tomber la petite colonie dans le sac du financier Crozat : seul, ce dernier y trouve son compte, au prix, toutefois, « du sacrifice systématique de la population et de l'abandon de tout le programme de mise en valeur » auquel il avait souscrit en prenant la Louisiane. L'étude de cet essai de développement colonial confié à l'entreprise privée nous conduit jusqu'à la fin du règne de Louis XIV, qu'elle déborde même d'un an ou deux. Trois chapitres sur les « positions intérieures » de la Louisiane à la fin de cette période et sur les mouvements d'expansion dont elle bénéficie forment une substantielle conclusion.

L'ouvrage de M. Giraud résulte du dépouillement méthodique d'une vaste documentation. Il est fortement pensé, solidement charpenté et clairement écrit. On frémit en songeant à ce que les matériaux sur lesquels il est construit auraient pu devenir aux mains d'un maniaque de la petite histoire. Le professeur Giraud n'est pas, par bonheur, un antiquaire aux curiosités vaines. C'est un historien. Il a bien rempli le programme qu'il s'était proposé : « l'étude intérieure des colonies louisianaises dans le cadre de leurs relations avec la métropole. » Lui reprochera-t-on de s'en être tenu à son programme avec une excessive fidélité ? En Amérique, pour reprendre une expression qui a fait fortune, il est difficile, croyons-nous, de se soustraire impunément à la nécessité de situer l'évolution d'une colonie française ailleurs que dans un

« triangle » formé par la colonie elle-même, l'empire français et l'empire britannique du Nouveau Monde. Or celui-ci n'occupe pas toute la place qu'il devrait prendre à l'arrière-plan de cette étude. C'est pourquoi l'auteur néglige de nous montrer, fait pourtant essentiel, que le pays dont il décrit les débuts est né d'une pensée : celle de rétablir, par la création d'un établissement français ancré au Mississippi, un équilibre américain déjà rompu en faveur des colonies britanniques.

Malgré cette observation, le livre de M. Giraud n'en a pas moins une très grande valeur et une utilité incontestable. Il contient de bonnes cartes, un index médiocre, un excellent tableau des sources auxquelles l'auteur a remonté et une bibliographie d'autant plus commode qu'elle est judicieusement choisie. Dans sa conclusion, l'auteur note qu'à l'époque sur laquelle son ouvrage se clôt, « le pays est sur le point d'aborder une phase plus active de son histoire ». Nous attendons avec impatience le volume qui l'étudiera.

GUY FRÉGAULT

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Sainte-Marie among the Hurons. By WILFRED JURY and ELSIE McLEOD JURY.

Illustrated by JULIUS GRIFFITH and PAUL BUCHANAN. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 128, xxviii (plates). \$3.50.

THIS little book gives a popular account of the excavations at the site of the mission of Ste Marie I conducted by Mr. Jury, curator of the Museum of Indian Archaeology, University of Western Ontario, from 1948 to 1951, in continuation of work previously accomplished there by Kenneth E. Kidd, of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, and reported in his volume, *The Excavation of Ste Marie I* (1949). Both volumes report work done under the sponsorship of the Society of Jesus but the purpose of each is quite different. The earlier volume is a comprehensive, cautious study of archaeological findings at this important historic site in terms useful for broad comparative studies, both archaeological and historical. The present volume belongs in the romantic school, and serious students who had hoped for a second comprehensive report, concerning the more recent archaeological campaign at the site, will be disappointed. It is even difficult to reconcile some of the results of the two investigations.

One is not reassured of the adequacy of field work in the present case, on the evidence of the text itself. It may be questioned, for example, whether the field maps referred to (p. 20) would be entirely sufficient to record "every disturbance in the soil," as asserted, if they were made to a scale of but "a quarter of an inch to the foot." And other kinds of field records seem hardly adequate, on the basis of examples provided, as in the case of photographs, one of which appears wrong side up. But this is not the only evidence of haste in the preparation of the volume.

An unfortunate characteristic of the present work is an unscientific or un-historical pretentiousness, or naïveté, which overworks the word "obviously," and permits an annoying dogmatism over certain of the data, ill becoming a serious report. There is even some evidence of lack of familiarity with the best archaeological methods. All in all, one can scarcely believe that the work will provide, as the publishers hope, the "indispensable companion" for those who will visit the site in years to come.

Apart from the faults that have been found in this volume, there are cer-

tain merits that also deserve special mention. An attempt has been made to assemble personal details concerning the many individuals—clerical, military, and lay—who lived at Ste Marie and contributed to that supreme effort of the Jesuits among the Hurons. These data, while not completely integrated with the narrative, do help to clothe the sometimes dry bones of archaeological excavation. Particularly notable are the reconstruction drawings of certain structures of the mission, executed by Mr. Buchanan, though the reader may regret that he has little means of judging the accuracy or reliability of these attractive drawings. The sketches of Mr. Griffith also help to recreate some of the scenes of everyday life at this distant outpost of civilization so long ago.

A strange omission from the volume is a discussion of the interesting artifactual materials obtained. Time presumably did not permit preparation of these materials and one hopes that the omission can eventually be supplied. There is a hint that close study should be given the new specimens since of the few illustrated some are suspiciously modern and others certainly so.

G. HUBERT SMITH

River Basin Surveys
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John Rae's Correspondence with the Hudson's Bay Company on Arctic Exploration, 1844-55. Edited by E. E. RICH, assisted by A. M. JOHNSON. With an introduction by J. M. WORDIE and R. J. CYRIAX. The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, XVII. London: The Society. 1953. Pp. cvi, 401; frontispiece and maps. Issued to subscribers.

It was a happy inspiration on the part of Mr. E. E. Rich, who has carried out so admirably the duties of editor of the long series of volumes published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society, that the present volume should commemorate the work of Dr. John Rae, the explorer who first ascertained the fate of Sir John Franklin and his men just one hundred years ago.

John Rae has been slow in coming into his own as one of the great explorers of the Canadian northland. During his lifetime he became embroiled in controversy with the Royal Geographical Society and with the British Admiralty; and his published works contained little to enable scholars to assess at its true importance his work as an Arctic explorer. Yet the truth is that he anticipated by over half a century Dr. Vihjalmur Stefansson's methods in "living off the country" in his Arctic explorations; and it is probable that if he had been with Franklin on his last and fatal expedition of discovery, the expedition might not have been fatal, nor perhaps Franklin's last.

That no one has hitherto written a life of John Rae may well be regarded as remarkable; for a more attractive subject for a first biography would be hard to find. This, however, enhances the value of the present volume; since the introduction to it is an account of John Rae's life and work, extending to nearly a hundred closely printed pages. This introduction has been contributed by Dr. J. M. Wordie, the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Dr. R. J. Cyriax, both of whom are authorities on the subject of Arctic exploration. Short of a full-fledged biography (which would be well worth writing), nothing could be more satisfactory than this sketch of John Rae's life.

The "Arctic Correspondence, 1844-55" is interesting, and fills in some small gaps in our information; but it is not of crucial importance. It is, more or less, the peg on which the biographical sketch and the appendices are

hung. Of special interest to the present reviewer are the biographical sketches included in Appendix B. These give full details with regard to individuals mentioned in the correspondence, and are much more valuable than the brief footnotes with which most editors content themselves.

The book is, as usual with the Hudson's Bay Record Society publications, beautifully printed and bound. It contains, as frontispiece, a striking reproduction of a portrait of John Rae, a sketch of Fort Confidence made by Rae in 1851, and three maps. The maps add greatly to the convenience of the reader, and are exceptionally clear and legible.

Of all the volumes published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society, there is none of greater interest and value than John Rae's "Arctic Correspondence."

W. S. WALLACE

The University of Toronto

Nation of the North: Canada since Confederation. By D. M. LeBOURDAIS.

With four portraits and three maps. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.; Toronto:

The Methuen Company of Canada Ltd. [British Book Service (Canada) Ltd.]. 1953. Pp. x, 270. \$3.75.

UNLIKE most of the one-volume histories of Canada which have appeared in recent years, *Nation of the North* cannot be given a great deal of credit for objectivity, comprehensiveness, or original scholarship. This slender volume is concerned only with the period since Confederation, the main sections of the book—"Macdonald," "Laurier," and "Mackenzie King"—being prefaced only by two brief, inadequate chapters purporting to survey Canadian development prior to 1867. Further, constitutional issues, federal-provincial relations, public finance, provincial politics, and many economic and social developments of the period since Confederation have been largely ignored. In their place the reader receives relatively generous helpings of political party history, political personality sketches, the evolution of Canadian external relations, and a number of titbits on the exploration of Canada's undeveloped regions, though even within these circumscribed fields the treatment is often spasmodic. Perhaps the highly selective approach to the material of Canadian history indicates gaps in the author's background; perhaps it reflects his own interest in, and choice of, phases of Canadian history which are most "news-worthy" and possess most reader interest. At least some episodes seem to have been treated, or given disproportionate space, because they provided ammunition for the author's particular point of view. At any event, *Nation of the North* has too many omissions to qualify as an adequate treatment of Canadian history, even since 1867.

The reader will find *Nation of the North* a strongly partisan work. The assuaging of cultural conflicts, the fostering of national expansion, and the freeing of Canada from British imperialist connections are taken as the truly national policies in terms of which men and administrations are praised or condemned. Laurier emerges as the paramount Canadian statesman greatly overshadowing both Macdonald and Borden. Throughout, the author seems passionately convinced of the untarnished rectitude of Liberal governments and the almost unrelieved villainy of Conservative administrations. However, he also displays a sympathy for left-wing politicians and political movements

of the present century, and he appraises Mackenzie King much more realistically than his two great predecessors. He considers the French-Canadian outlook on external affairs (and conscription) as being the only policy consistent with Canadian nationhood, and he places great hopes in the development of a distinctive Canadian culture through the settlement and exploitation of Canada's northland. In short, the point of view of this book might be described as that of Skelton with overtones of Stefansson.

Nation of the North is primarily a narrative rather than an interpretive history of Canada. Little attempt is made to evaluate the significance of events, or to relate them adequately to other occurrences of their own time or to the totality of Canadian history. A prime example of the author's limited appreciation of the real significance of the events of Canada's history (and his apparent unawareness of a generation of historical research) occurs in the dismissal of the federal general election of 1891 merely as a Conservative party manoeuvre to take advantage of the exigencies of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Nevertheless, on many controversial subjects the author assumes a tone of complete and final knowledge which his own presentation often belies; on the Alaska Boundary—"those who know the facts find it hard to be complacent"; on the defenders of Governor-General Byng—"but the weight of sound precedent was against them," and so on.

The specialist will find little original in the treatment of the eras of Macdonald and Laurier, which relies strongly on long-written works by Pope, Skelton, and Willison. But for the period since 1920, where the author's own observation takes over, the book assumes a more authentic flavour. The reader receives a more detailed coverage of some incidents of Canadian politics (characteristically, of the dismissal of Thornton more than of the Beauharnois scandal) than he is likely to find in other one-volume general histories. Despite occasional run-on sentences and an addiction to such phrases as "in respect of," the book's style is lively and interesting. In places it will evoke nostalgic memories of half-forgotten incidents which once dominated the newspaper headlines. Unencumbered as it is by legal and constitutional "deadweight" or by analysis or philosophizing, the book should commend itself to uninformed general readers as being "a good story." But, when all is said and done, *Nation of the North* can rate only as a disappointment to the serious student of Canadian history.

MORRIS ZASLOW

The University of Toronto

Le Canada et les droits de l'homme : le concept des Droits de l'Homme dans la politique étrangère et la constitution du Canada. Par BRIGHAM DAY.
Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey. 1953. Pp. x, 154. 900 frs.

Ce petit livre est une thèse de droit — simple thèse de doctorat d'université, toutefois, — dont le sujet, si l'on s'en rapporte au titre, est de nature à intéresser vivement l'historien du Canada. Mais qu'est-ce que M. Day a voulu étudier au juste? Une lecture, même très attentive, ne parvient pas à le préciser. L'auteur a beau nous prévenir qu'une première partie aborde « la question des droits de l'homme du point de vue historique » (ce qui est inexact), qu'une deuxième examine la constitution canadienne afin de « démontrer à quels pouvoirs constituants appartient la responsabilité de la mise en vigueur

en matière des droits de l'homme » et qu'une troisième passe en revue « la mise en œuvre des droits politiques et économiques au Canada » — l'auteur a beau nous prévenir de tout cela, nous n'en éprouvons pas moins un mal infini à suivre un exposé confus qui passe sans crier gare du plan national au plan international, de celui-ci au palier provincial et de nouveau, après y être revenu plusieurs fois, d'ailleurs, aux grands débats internationaux, pour aboutir à quoi ? Une conclusion l'eût indiqué, mais aucune conclusion ne pouvait s'articuler à un tel travail. Aussi bien, M. Day s'est-il abstenu d'en mettre une. La seule conclusion raisonnable consisterait, du reste, à souligner quelle place réellement restreinte les « Droits de l'Homme » occupent dans l'histoire et dans la politique (intérieure et extérieure) du Canada et à expliquer qu'il ne peut en aller autrement parce que ce pays a été longtemps accaparé par la tâche gigantesque d'édifier, dans des circonstances difficiles, ses structures politiques et économiques et qu'au surplus, étant donné ses dimensions, il n'a pu prendre qu'un rang nécessairement secondaire sur la scène mondiale.

Pour situer cette question comme il convenait, il aurait fallu, on le voit, faire appel à l'histoire. L'histoire n'a que l'honneur d'allusions occasionnelles dans le travail de M. Day. L'auteur nous apprend, par exemple, que la capitulation générale du Canada à Montréal eut lieu « quelques semaines après » la bataille du 13 septembre 1759 (p. 6) et que lord Durham fit son fameux rapport en 1832 (p. 63). Il y a plus grave. M. Day paraît convaincu que l'annexion aux États-Unis « n'a jamais été envisagée par le Canada à cause d'une minorité française qui craindrait d'être transformée en une minorité encore plus petite », ce qui manifeste une ignorance fondamentale des deux derniers siècles de l'histoire du Canada. Il lui plaît aussi d'affirmer que le terme « nation » n'est « utile, à notre époque du moins, qu'aux ethnographes », avancé qu'il ne serait pas superflu de démontrer, si c'est possible.

Nous avons l'impression très nette que le traducteur qui a travaillé en liaison avec M. Day a une connaissance limitée de l'anglais; et comme l'auteur lui-même ne paraît pas savoir davantage le français, il a laissé passer quelques contresens patents — entre autres, « l'Asie » pour l'Est (*i.e.* la Russie et ses satellites) — sans parler de plusieurs perles : des « amendements . . . conservatifs » (p. 40), « le Chef de la Justice Rowell, d'Ontario » (p. 94), le « système . . . appelé « baby bonus », inauguré par le Gouvernement de M. King » (p. 96), les « Attorneys-généraux des Provinces » (p. 120), etc. Le volume n'a pas d'index. La bibliographie, fort sommaire, comporte néanmoins une section « d'ordre général, régional et commonwealthien ».

GUY FRÉGAULT

Université de Montréal

Capitalism and the Historians. Edited by F. A. HAYEK. Essays by T. S. ASHTON, L. M. HACKER, W. H. HUTT, B. DE JOUVENEL. Chicago: University of Chicago Press [Toronto: University of Toronto Press]. 1954. Pp. viii, 188. \$3.00.

THIS is a small book on a very big subject. It consists of an introduction by Mr. Hayek, three papers given at an international conference held in France in 1951, and two other papers given earlier and previously printed in economic

periodicals. Professor Ashton of London contributes two papers, a more general one entitled "The Treatment of Capitalism by Historians," and a more specific one on "The Standard of Life of the Workers in England, 1790-1830." Dean Hacker of Columbia writes on "The Anticapitalist Bias of American Historians," Professor W. H. Hutt of Capetown on "The Factory System of the Early 19th century," and M. Bertrand de Jouvenel on "The Treatment of Capitalism by Continental Intellectuals." The title of the book is rather wider than its contents, for it is primarily though not wholly concerned with the impact of the Industrial Revolution in England, and of necessity in only a limited way with that. Its aim is to further the refutation of the older views of that revolution as given by Engels and other socialist or near-socialist historians down to our own day. Mr. Hayek's introduction continues the crusade of his earlier writings in this cause with his usual verve and sweep. On the central question of working-class conditions before and after the revolution his conclusion is that (p. 18) "While there is every evidence that great misery existed, there is none that it was greater or even as great as it had been before."

Professor Ashton is a little more cautious. While in the first of his two essays he comes nearest to the title of the book, with a general survey from Engels to Sombart, Schumpeter, and Unwin, in the second one, on "Standards of Living," he follows chapter and verse of the sources closely, taking due account of both the time factor from 1790 to 1830, with its triple division into periods of war, deflation, and expansion; and also of the wide local variety between different parts of the country, from London to the north. Both these factors make generalization difficult if not impossible, and Ashley is content to conclude (p. 158) that, while the skilled worker undoubtedly gained, such groups as the seasonal agricultural workers and the handloom weavers suffered much hardship. Given a rising social conscience, and the romantic idealization of a simpler and more rustic past, it is little wonder that the picture of the latter groups attracted attention and sympathy. Professor W. H. Hutt's essay on the factory system surveys some of the medical and other evidence—and very odd it reads today—given by doctors at the time, and notes the impact on the issue of both the flood of Irish immigration, and the antagonism between Tory landlords and the factory owners.

Dean Hacker, after agreeing with the other authors that economic historians must "clear away the rubble that has accumulated on the ancient citadel of capitalism since Marx and Engels and Sombart wrote," turns to American history to show how Beard's *Rise of American Civilization* (1927) proved "a major force" in encouraging the turn to increased emphasis on economic forces therein. This trend was not, however, in general Marxian, but rather a reflection of an old issue, an espousal of Jefferson's challenge to Hamilton's "monopolism," projected through the history of the Union.

Finally M. de Jouvenel's essay is of the social-philosophical kind. In broad generalization he sees the history of the Western intellectuals (himself included) over 1000 years as in three simple stages: as priests in the middle ages; as legal advisers to kings in the great age of monarchy; as literary-social critics in the world today. It is natural that in this latest phase they should oppose the business-tsars, and see themselves as the natural allies of the worker. But this, he argues, raises a new question: whether the rise of this

"vast intellectual class" may not provide a greater problem for society than that of the industrial worker. Thus the little book is full of challenge in varying ways, a stimulating "stage analysis," to borrow Dean Hacker's phrase, in the continuing process of historical interpretation.

R. FLENLEY

The University of Toronto

The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307. By Sir MAURICE POWICKE. The Oxford History of England, edited by G. N. CLARK. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1953. Pp. xiv, 829. \$6.00.

THE author of this volume needs no introduction. His contribution to the Oxford series has been long awaited and will be eagerly read. It has already been widely discussed, with the expression of very varied opinions. Its virtues are what we should expect: high scholarship, sensitivity, and an intimacy born of an unequalled familiarity with the age. Its defects, in the eyes of some critics, are its length, its exclusion of important aspects of the life of the period, its lack of selection and interpretation, its handling of some details of the constitution and of the law. The virtues scarcely need to be illustrated; they speak for themselves, not in the details or erudition, but in clear and moving language and in penetrating observations which are, unfortunately, more often than not in the nature of asides. The criticisms deserve a more lengthy consideration; they are mostly a consequence of high expectations and may be regarded as in part a tribute to the importance of the volume and of the questions which it raises relative to the historian's work.

Sir Maurice has courageously refused to give separate, and largely unrelated, treatment to special aspects of history, with both good and bad consequences. One day, we may learn to write our histories as if politics, thought, and art really were parts of an organic whole. But the way to do this does not seem to be that which has been adopted here, of relegating thought and art for the most part to the bibliography. For architecture, as an example, we are referred in the Index only to bibliographical notes. Roger Bacon is dismissed (p. 230) in one singularly unilluminating sentence. Whilst we regretfully accept, in this and many other matters, the artist's right to pursue his own interests, it seems tragic that in so many directions where he might have helped us we have still to seek enlightenment in older and, in some cases, inferior books.

The proportions given to different aspects of the political narrative raise similar questions. Sir Maurice has much that is new and important to say about Welsh, Scottish, and French affairs. He places England in its European background and in its relation to the remainder of the British Isles as no historian has ever done before. Yet it may be claimed that he is comparatively neglectful of English political development itself, and especially of constitutional growth. One can only assume that we have here a logical outcome of the effort to see the century largely through the eyes of contemporaries, who are pictured as thinking much more of the immediate problems of Gascony or Wales than of the preservation and broadening of political liberty. It is, in fact, debatable if they did. In any case, it is arguable that for us, the great political quarrels in England between 1216 and 1258, for instance, to say nothing of better-known crises, are more important than any foreign affairs.

significant though these were. The development of the law and the constitution ought, some would argue, to be the central feature of a volume devoted mainly to politics; but in fact both these and many related topics are given what seems to be inadequate treatment in a volume of this size.

One example may serve as an illustration. Nothing in all the history of the thirteenth century, perhaps, is more important than the evolution of parliament. This great institution is skilfully dealt with as it existed in the reign of Edward I and, as we should expect, Sir Maurice refuses to be fettered by the legalism which has dominated the modern approach. On the other hand, parliament is quite neglected in its period of formative growth before 1272. Underlying ideas such as that of the welfare of the *regnum* are barely touched upon; even in connection with the famous *Song of Lewes*.

Broadly speaking, Sir Maurice seems to prefer to let the events and characters of the thirteenth century speak for themselves. Thus, it may be argued, he avoids abusing the hindsight of history and the anachronism of reading modern ideas and purposes back into a period where they can have had no place. For the same reasons, perhaps, he is chary of dwelling on broad movements and causes and effects. Whether or not it is nearer the historian's task to depict the past in all its confusions and contemporary perspectives, or to synthesize and interpret, is a question which cannot be answered here, but which is brought forcefully to one's attention by this book.

Not far removed from this attitude is the occasional impatience which Sir Maurice displays with those modern writers who try to define political relations "in terms of constitutional law" (p. 30). He seems to prefer a simpler, more warmly personal, interpretation of political relations and motives. The object of the barons in 1244, he remarks (p. 78), is almost pathetically obvious. They "wanted to feel safe." The simple fact remains, he concludes on another occasion (p. 30), that "peace depended on wise leadership and on an atmosphere of good will." One wonders if he has not occasionally made the problem too simple. Examples of this aspect of the book are to be found in the passages dealing with the terms of Henry's assumption of some personal rule in 1223 (p. 24), the sworn obligation of the king in 1258 (p. 135), the fears of the community of bachelors of England in 1259 (p. 153), the offer made on Simon de Montfort's behalf in the negotiations of 1264 (p. 186), and the provenance of important documents relating to the crisis of 1297 (p. 682). A historian of the law and the constitution might similarly wish for more definition in Sir Maurice's handling of the famous trial of the earls of Gloucester and Hereford in 1291 (pp. 329-30). The formula recording the final judgment, for instance—"by the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons and all the king's council"—might well be compared with those used earlier in the same trial and with those connected with the even more famous trial of Nicholas Segrave in 1305. The later formulae were used in a famous volume by F. W. Maitland, with decisive effect; but they are not discussed by Sir Maurice at all. He may have missed something, as well as gained something, by all these rejections of subtlety and definition. He gets a clear and moving narrative, but he may have done an injustice to the statesmen of the thirteenth century and to their problems and ideals. Occasionally, even the present-day historians who have grappled with these problems may contemplate a little ruefully the path which Sir Maurice has hewed for himself through their conflicting views.

However, Sir Maurice's conclusions can never be treated lightly, even when he calls Simon de Montfort a royalist! His interpretation is always his own and is reinforced by an unrivalled knowledge of the period. His volume is a notable contribution to the Oxford History of England. It will provoke both admiration and discussion for a long time to come. To withhold either would be not to pay a just tribute to the spirit of a gentle, courteous, and inspiring teacher, who first showed his peculiar genius as early as 1902, writing as a product of the Manchester school of history, and who has made an unparalleled contribution, stretching over more than half a century, to the same incomparable age of creation which is covered by this book.

B. WILKINSON

The University of Toronto

A History of English Law. Vol. XIII. By Sir WILLIAM HOLDSWORTH. Edited by A. L. GOODHART and H. G. HANBURY. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada) Ltd.]. 1952. Pp. xlviii, 803. \$14.00.

THIS is the final volume in a series that has become almost as indispensable to students of English history in general as to those whose interest is primarily in the development of English law. The text was completed by the author a short time before his death in 1944. The editors have added a brief introduction, some explanatory notes, lists of cases and statutes, an excellent bibliography, and very full indices of names and subjects. It deals with the period from the beginning of the debate on the French Revolution to the passage of the Reform Act in 1832; and its publication brings to a close the third section of the history, under the general title of Settlement and Reform.

In general the volume follows a pattern that will be familiar to readers of earlier portions of the history. The opening chapters deal with the ideas, new and old, that were to influence the development of English law, and with the political and constitutional history of the period. There is little in these chapters that is strikingly original; but they present a clear and coherent account of the intellectual ferment of the period and of the well-known facts of political and constitutional change. The most illuminating section is perhaps that in which the author sums up the effects of the Reform Act, with particular reference to the evolution of cabinet government, and on the position of the House of Lords, which ceased to be what it had been in the eighteenth century, "a poise or balance in the constitution," and became a true second chamber.

Not unnaturally a great deal of space is given to Bentham and his disciples, and the clear and succinct analyses of their various works will be of the greatest value to all students of the period. There is here no dissent from the judgment of Dicey on the importance of Bentham's influence on the development of English law; but Sir William goes further, and his survey includes the works of many less prominent lawyers and publicists, who have hitherto received little notice. One of the best passages in the book is that which relates the career of Samuel Romilly, one of the notable figures of the period, and one in whose work can be seen the relationship between legal reform in England and prevalent ideas on the subject derived from continental writers.

The later sections of the book are more definitely for the specialist, al-

though here too there are passages that will have a wider interest. To say that for the student of constitutional history this volume is somewhat less satisfactory than those on the Tudor and the Stuart periods is not in any way to disparage it. Those volumes were exceptional by any standard. But if this is on the whole less stimulating and suggestive, it has something of the same quality which lifts the study of law from its encumbering technicalities and makes it, in the truest sense of the term, a branch of humane learning; and no student of English history will close this volume without a feeling of regret that this is the last work that is to come from one of the great scholars of our time.

D. J. McDOUGALL

The University of Toronto

A History of France. By LUCIEN ROMIER. Translated and completed by A. L. ROWSE. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1953. Pp. xvi, 488. \$5.75.

THE paucity of one-volume histories of France in English, and the unsatisfactory character of most of those we have, make one always ready to welcome any new contribution. In offering an addition to this limited category Mr. Rowse has done a real service to teachers, students, and the general reading public.

Lucien Romier, a distinguished French historian, published *L'Ancienne France: des origines à la Révolution* before his death a few years ago. Mr. Rowse, whose enthusiasm was aroused by Romier's treatment of French history, which he finds "similar to my own approach [to English history] in *The Spirit of English History*," discovered that M. Romier had left a typescript history of the period 1789-1885. This was made available to Mr. Rowse who undertook to translate M. Romier's entire work, and to complete it with his own account of the latest period of French history, 1885 to the present.

The guiding principle of M. Romier's work is stated in the title of the first chapter, "National Continuity," for throughout the book he is primarily concerned to show how France the nation came into being, how its distinctive qualities emerged, how it survived through one crisis after another to give brilliance "to successive and different civilisations." Writing in a lively, personal style M. Romier never hesitates to express strong views about men and situations, views that are often shrewd and probing insights, penetrating evaluations, stimulating and provocative of thought. His judgment of Louis XIV is a pertinent example: "... Louis XIV compromised the future of the monarchy not in making it absolute—that it had almost always been—but in changing its function in relation to the people and above all in putting it, in spite of itself, at the service of the privileged."

The translation on the whole is good but there are a number of rough spots, usually the result of the translator's trying to stick too closely to the French, thus creating an awkward English style. Some small portions of the book are an unattractive and largely useless mass of names and dates. Here there has been an attempt to cram in too much, or to use unelaborated notes. This is more true in the later part. When Mr. Rowse comes to the writing of the last chapters, his own, he tells his story with vibrant emotion, going far beyond the strong views of M. Romier. Indeed, when he gets to the period after the

First World War, especially the 1930's and 40's, he writes in a tone of articulate frustration. One wonders if his point of view might not be given more consideration by readers had he set it forth in a calmer, more moderate manner.

By and large this is a useful book, one that will serve as a prick and a goad, and will evoke discussion and counter-opinion, but it should be used with care, and along with other books expressing other views.

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto

SHORTER NOTICES

Chartered Banking in Canada. By A. B. JAMIESON. Foreword by W. A. MACKINTOSH. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1953. Pp. x, 394. \$5.00.

THIS book is written by a retired member of the head office staff of one of the large chartered banks for use in the instruction of junior employees under the courses given for the Bankers' Association. If one may judge by the internal evidence he rates as a real Canadian, despite (or because of) the fact that he was born in Scotland and had his earliest banking experience there. The book is reserved, careful, canny, very proper, not at all forthcoming. But if one will take it for what it is, and read a little bit between the lines, it becomes a really interesting work.

The book is divided into two parts. The first 170 pages is a history of banking in Canada from its beginnings to the end of 1952. In some ways this is the most interesting as well as the most tantalizing part of the book, partly because one cannot do a full history of the banks in their relation to the economy as a whole and of legislation covering them in the space allotted, but mostly because of the author's appalling reticence.

The author can see that the banks were consulted as equals in the drafting of the Bank Act of 1871. "Many of their directors and several of their presidents were members of parliament," and participated from time to time in the deliberations of the Committee. He traces their decline from that position of honour. He can see that they are now politically neutralized and powerless. But even if he were writing about the winter of 1953-4 he would never come straight out and say that they are now being pushed around, by the Cabinet and by its agent the Bank of Canada, that they are so completely impotent that the Cabinet does not even think them worthy of the courtesy of advance notice of a change in their lending powers which is directly contrary to the central traditions of their art.

Perhaps the author is right. Perhaps the centralization of power has gone so far that resistance to the Cabinet, whether by Parliament or anyone else, is impossible. But when the historians of 2050 go back over our records of what is now current opinion they will have to strain their ears to catch the note of concern which peeps out here and there. We are not blind to what is happening, but we just can't speak up!

The second part of the book is designed for the practical banker. It is a mine of detailed information, of the highest use to anyone operating in that field, but of little interest to the general reader.

JOHN L. McDOUGALL

Queen's University

25 Years of Canadian Foreign Policy. Edited by EDGAR MCINNIS. Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Publications Branch. 1953. Pp. 87. 50c.

UNE douzaine d'auteurs ont collaboré à ce petit ouvrage de vulgarisation, dont le but est de présenter une vue à vol d'oiseau de la politique étrangère du Canada entre 1928 et 1953. Pourquoi avoir pris l'année 1928 pour point de départ ? Parce qu'elle est celle de la création du Canadian Institute of International Affairs : cet organisme privé a cru que l'occasion de son vingt-cinquième anniversaire était bonne pour répandre dans le grand public, avec le concours de la Société Radio-Canada, une meilleure connaissance du rôle que le Canada a joué sur le plan international durant un quart de siècle marqué d'événements d'une extrême importance. Il en résulte toutefois que plus d'un collaborateur, visiblement gêné par ces limites malgré tout assez étroites, s'est vu forcé de les dépasser et de remonter à la fondation de la Société des Nations, ou à celle du ministère canadien des Affaires extérieures (1909), ou même à la participation du Dominion à la guerre des Boers.

Tous les articles qui composent cette brochure sont pleins de substance, clairement conçus et écrits avec une vigoureuse simplicité. Le choix des auteurs est très heureux. Etant donné leur nombre, ceux-ci pouvaient difficilement éviter les répétitions : d'où plusieurs allusions au pacte Briand-Kellogg et à la fameuse déclaration faite par Dandurand à la S.D.N., en 1924, décrivant le Canada comme une « maison à l'épreuve du feu ». Le dernier chapitre reproduit textuellement une discussion radiophonique; il eût gagné à être refondu : si sérieux soit-il, un quatuor à trois voix et un microphone ne peut pas être exempt de tout bavardage.

Le lecteur retiendra sans aucun doute la remarque du professeur Frank H. Underhill : «For the members of our Department of External Affairs still seem to be getting their intellectual clothes tailored for them in the west end of London; and in the differences between Great Britain and the United States, . . . they always seem to come down on the British side ». Un des grands mérites de la brochure est d'expliquer le caractère proprement inévitable de ce fait capital.

GUY FRÉGAULT

Université de Montréal

Les Temps modernes. I. De Christophe Colomb à Cromwell. Par GASTON ZELLER. Histoire des relations internationales, publiée sous la direction de PIERRE RENOUVIN, II. Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1953. Pp. viii, 326. 850 frs.

SOMEWHAT fulsomely, the publisher heralds this book as opening new horizons and marking a fresh stage in the history of historiography. The reader will do well not to place too much faith in Hachette's publicity department. Professor Zeller's task was difficult enough: to survey more than 150 years of international relations. The performance he turns in is excellent in its own way. But it is not startling. Rather it is an accurate brief analysis of the permanent institutions and factors of politics among the nations during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, followed by a discussion of national ambitions and policies, and a record of the major diplomatic and military moves growing out of them. As all such syntheses must be, this one

is crowded with names and dates; and if general statements do appear along the way, they are by no means too numerous. A manual to guide one through a perfect forest of events, this very competent study does what it can to present a general picture. But like it or not, the history of international relations over a century and a half is the history of many men and constant change, and if one is going to write it at all, one must get down to details. This M. Zeller does, and there is no point in trying to creep on to one or another of the various bandwaggon of the New History by stating that he has magically transcended this necessity to operate on some imaginary synthetic plane high above his crowded materials. Certainly M. Zeller himself would proclaim no such triumph.

Designed for French students in particular, the book furnishes adequate bibliographical suggestions. The English reader of course will feel that a good many important references have been forgotten. Nevertheless, given the dismaying magnitude of his assignment, the author has produced a sound work, admirably controlled. It is, however, impossible to agree that he has opened new vistas.

JOHN C. CAIRNS

The University of Toronto

The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century: Studies of the Nobilities of the Major European States in the Pre-Reform Era. Edited by A. GOODWIN. London: Adam and Charles Black [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1953. Pp. viii, 201. \$2.50.

TEN essays dealing with the nature and role of the major national nobilities naturally offer the usual disparities and compromises of such short articles by diverse authors conforming to no set formula. Nevertheless this brief book successfully draws a generally lively, sometimes colourful, often precise (or as precise as historical scholarship here can be, given the limitation of statistical data and space) picture of the varieties of this European caste before the Great Revolution. First presented as lectures at Oxford by a group of British historians, more than half the papers are printed in revised form. But their origins are evident; probably this explains the decision to abandon scholarly apparatus; certainly it is responsible for the over-all readability. Based on standard accounts in the various languages, the chapters offer no new research conclusions but appear to sum up the most recent findings of international students. As such, they make valuable and pleasant reading. No general conclusions emerge; only a kaleidoscopic pattern of life, manners, pleasures, duties, and irresponsibilities in the evening of the classical age.

JOHN C. CAIRNS

The University of Toronto

The French Revolution, 1788-1792. By GAETANO SALVEMINI. Translated from the Italian by I. M. RAWSON. London: Jonathan Cape [Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited]. 1954. Pp. 343. \$3.75.

SELDOM can a reviewer be expected to applaud the translation into English of a textbook which appeared in a foreign tongue more than 40 years ago. But in this case the audacious venture is wholly warranted. Professor Salvemini's work appeared in Italian in 1907, but has been subsequently revised

several times. The present translation is based upon a text revised by the author after the publication of the latest Italian edition of 1949.

In this compact synthesis the story of the destruction of the feudal monarchy and the Ancien Régime is carefully interwoven with that of the long decline preceding the Revolution. Stress is placed upon the importance of personal and individual action along with recognition of the "inevitability" of revolution as a result of the dissolution of the old society. A strongly liberal bent marks the work but not to the degree of failing to see the weaknesses, disorders, and dangers of the revolutionary programme and development.

It is a lively and penetrating analysis that has been praised by both Mathiez and Aulard and which will be a highly welcome addition to the general books in English on the French Revolution, especially useful to the college student and the general reader. The translation has been very well done so that the book comes to us in good readable English.

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto

Russia: A History and an Interpretation. By MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY. Two volumes. New York: The Macmillan Company [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1953. Pp. lxxvi, 1,511. \$16.50.

In this detailed work, Mr. Florinsky interprets Russian history from the rise of Kiev to the fall of the Romanovs and the inception of Soviet rule. Domestic and foreign politics are stressed, although economic, social, and cultural developments are not ignored. Fully three-quarters of the work is devoted to the "St. Petersburg Period." Mr. Florinsky omits the Soviet period, partly because of the existing size of his study, partly because of the inadequacy and one-sidedness of available source materials on Soviet history. The bibliography is reasonably extensive, but its usefulness is limited by its simple alphabetical arrangement. The two volumes are well indexed. Although this history is based on little new material and moves over well-trodden ground, students of Russian history should find Mr. Florinsky's Russia a useful survey and interpretation.

A short notice precludes any comprehensive treatment of the author's views, but they are striking when he seeks to explain the denouement of his story—"the 'inevitability' of Bolshevism." Mr. Florinsky believes that Bolshevism owes much of its success to the helplessness and blindness of its opponents. If "Kerensky," he writes, "had made immediate peace and given all land to the peasants, it is possible that Lenin never would have come to the Kremlin" (p. 1475). Although Mr. Florinsky sees this programme as Bolshevism in 1917, he considers that "what in 1917 was treason to the allies and condonation of peasant lawlessness would have served, in the long run, the cause of democracy in Russia and throughout the world" (p. 1476). Would adoption of their enemies' programme and betrayal of their standards of value have aided Russian liberals and moderate socialists in a country where, as Mr. Florinsky says, "the notions of legality, constitutionality, and democracy were alien to the Russian historical tradition"? How tragic is the liberal's dilemma in a time of revolutionary crisis!

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

By MARGARET JEAN HOUSTON

Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review.

The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; C.H.R.—*Canadian Historical Review*; C.J.E.P.S.—*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*; R.H.A.F.—*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.

See also *Canadiana*, a monthly list of Canadian publications prepared by the Canadian Bibliographic Centre, Ottawa, and, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, "Letters in Canada," published in the April issue.

I. CANADA'S RELATIONS WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

GELBER, LIONEL. The Commonwealth and World Order (*Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXX (1), winter, 1954, 6-24). A study of the forces making for unity and disunity in the Commonwealth.

HANCOCK, W. K. Agenda for the Study of British Imperial Economy, 1850-1950 (*Journal of Economic History*, XIII (3), summer, 1953, 257-73).

MCWHINNEY, EDWARD. "Sovereignty" in the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth Countries at the Present Day (*Political Science Quarterly*, LXVIII (4), Dec., 1953, 511-25).

MONSARRAT, NICHOLAS. The Role of the Commonwealth (*Queen's Quarterly*, LXI (1), spring, 1954, 37-41).

PORTUS, G. V. The Queen and the Commonwealth of Nations (*Australian Quarterly*, XXVI (1), March, 1954, 9-15).

WALKER, ERIC A. *The British Empire: Its Structure and Spirit, 1497-1953*. Second and extended revision. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada) Ltd.]. 1953 [1954]. Pp. x, 352, with map. \$4.25. See pp. 231-2.

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BERRY, GERALD L. *The Whoop-up Trail: Alberta-Montana Relationships*. Edmonton: Applied Art Products Ltd. 1953. Pp. 143. \$3.50 (cloth), \$2.00 (paper).

Canada, Army Headquarters, Historical Section. The 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group, 1951-1953 (*Canadian Army Journal*, VIII (2), April, 1954, 2-14). The 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group was organized in May, 1951, and was sent to Germany in October, 1951, "in furtherance of Canada's undertakings under the North Atlantic Treaty."

Canada, Department of External Affairs. *Report, 1953*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1954. Pp. vi, 43. 25c.

Canada, Department of External Affairs, Information Division. *Canada and the Disarmament Problem*. Reference Papers, no. 76. Ottawa. 1954. Pp. ii, 28 (mimeo.). Extracts from official documents reviewing the work of the United Nations on the problem of disarmament, and Canada's part in that work.

— *Canada and the Korean Problem*. Reference Papers, no. 73. Ottawa. 1954. Pp. 37 (mimeo.). "... extracts from official publications . . . intended to provide a chronological account . . . of Canada's concern with the Korean problem." A bibliography is appended.

HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *Canada's Lonely Neighbour*. Toronto, New York, London: Longmans, Green & Company. 1954. Pp. 30. \$1.00.

United States, Department of State. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1936* (in five volumes). I. *General: The British Commonwealth*. Department of State Publication, 5395. Washington: United States Government

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Printing Office. 1953. Pp. lxxvi, 892. \$4.25. The documents on pages 783-846 relate to Canada.

See also *External Affairs*, the monthly bulletin of the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

III. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

ARTHUR, JOHN B. Canada's Dynamic Banking System (*Canadian Banker*, LX (3), autumn, 1953, 112-19). A brief survey of the growth and development of Canadian banking.

Canada, Army Headquarters, Historical Section. Her Majesty's Foot Guards (*Canadian Army Journal*, VIII (2), April, 1954, 23-31). Includes an account of the Guards in Canada, and of the Governor General's Foot Guards and the Canadian Grenadier Guards.

CRAWFORD, KENNETH GRANT. *Canadian Municipal Government*. Canadian Government Series, R. MacG. Dawson, Editor, VI. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 407. \$7.50. To be reviewed later.

GILMOUR, C. P., ed. *Canada's Tomorrow: Papers and Discussion, Canada's Tomorrow Conference, Quebec City, November 1953*. Illustrations by ERIC ALDWINCKLE. Toronto: Macmillan. 1954. Pp. xii, 324. \$3.50. To be reviewed later.

GRIFFIN, CHARLES C.; SHRYOCK, RICHARD H.; WITKE, CARL; and TURNER, RALPH E. The Problem of a General History of the Americas (*Revista de Historia de América*, no 34, Dic. 1952, 469-89). A discussion of the project of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History; Professor Witke's paper (pp. 481-6) deals with the history of Canada as it relates to the larger project.

HAGUE, H. J. George Hague, 1825-1915 (*Canadian Banker*, LXI (1), winter, 1954, 101-2). Brief biography of the first president of the Canadian Bankers' Association.

HAWTHORN, H. B. Enter the European: IV, Among the Indians of Canada (*Beaver*, outfit 285, summer, 1954, 3-7). Contacts of white men with the Canadian Indians from the time of the first exploration, and observations on the Indian culture today.

MCCLEARY, WALTER. *One Man's Loyalty*. Illustrations by M. ART THORNE. History of the Orange Association in the Dominion of Canada, no. 1. Toronto: Loyal Orange Association of British America, Committee on Orange History. 1953. Pp. 95, illus. \$1.00. Obtainable from Loftus H. Reid, Grand Secretary, 55 Queen St. E., Toronto. Background of the first Grand Master, Ogle R. Gowan.

POTTER, G. R. L. Our Forest Heritage (*Canadian Banker*, LX (3), autumn, 1953, 50-60; LXI (1), winter, 1954, 36-48). A review of the uses to which the Canadian forests have been put since the time of the early settlers, and a survey of measures of conservation.

SADLER-BROWN, N. Notes on the Origins of the Canadian Sappers (*Canadian Army Journal*, VIII (2), April, 1954, 112-23).

STANLEY, GEORGE F. G. *Canada's Soldiers, 1604-1954: The Military History of an Unmilitary People*. In collaboration with HAROLD M. JACKSON. Maps by C. C. J. BOND. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1954. Pp. xvi, 402. \$6.50. To be reviewed later.

(2) Discovery and Exploration

ALCOCK, J. F. Albert Peter Low [1861-1952], (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLVIII (4), April, 1954, 160-3). A biography of the explorer of the Labrador peninsula.

BIRD, J. BRIAN, and BIRD, M. BERYL. John Rae's Stone House (*Beaver*, outfit 284, March, 1954, 34-5). Rae's winter base, 1846-7, near Repulse Bay.

KERR, ROBERT. Rae's Franklin Relics (*Beaver*, outfit 284, March, 1954, 25-7). Some of the relics from the last Franklin Expedition, which Rae bought from the Eskimos in 1854, and other objects collected by Rae during his Arctic expeditions, are on view at the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh.

SKELTON, R. A. Explorers' Maps: III, Cathay or a New World? The Discovery of America from Columbus to Magellan; IV, The Portuguese Sea-way to the Indies; V, European Rivalry for the Spice Islands (*Geographical Magazine*, XXVI (10), Feb., 1954, 519-33; XXVI (11), March, 1954, 610-23; XXVI (12), April, 1954, 627-38).

WALLACE, R. C. Rae of the Arctic (*Beaver*, outfit 284, March, 1954, 28-33). A short biography of Dr. John Rae, Arctic explorer.

(3) New France

BISHOP, MORRIS. Canada: Land without a National Hero (*Saturday Night*, LXIX (39), July 3, 1954, 7-8). The author sets forth the characteristics and accomplishments of Champlain, who, the author believes, is worthy to be Canada's national hero.

GRAHAM, GERALD S., ed. *The Walker Expedition to Quebec, 1711*. Publications of the Champlain Society, XXXII. Toronto: The Society. 1953. Pp. xx, 441. Free to members. To be reviewed later.

JACKES, LYMAN B. An Historical Mystery (*Canadian Banker*, LXI (1), winter, 1954, 96-100). The part of a British agent, Major Patrick McKellar, in British strategy at the attack on Quebec in 1759.

RAMBAUD, ALFRED. La Querelle du Tartuffe à Paris et à Québec (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, VIII (5), janv. 1954, 421-34). This article includes an account of the quarrel between Frontenac and Mgr de Saint-Vallier over the performance of *Tartuffe* at Quebec.

ROQUEBRUNE, ROBERT DE. Une Époque héroïque: 1689-1690 (*Amérique française*, XII (2), juin 1954, 115-23). The author describes the military spirit of the inhabitants of New France at a time when Frontenac contemplated an attack on the New England colonies.

TYLER, T. E. Early Days at York Fort (*Beaver*, outfit 284, March, 1954, 49-53). The struggle between the French and the English for possession of the Hudson Bay posts, 1680-1714.

WAINWRIGHT, NICHOLAS B. George Croghan and the Indian Uprising of 1747 (*Pennsylvania History*, XXI (1), Jan., 21-31). The role of a Pennsylvania trader in alienating the Indians south of Lake Erie from the French and promoting their revolt.

(4) British North America before 1867

DUFEVRE, BERNARD. Un Pamphlet et sa "réfutation": Louis-Joseph Papineau et Sabrevois de Bleury (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, VIII (9), mai 1954, 820-8). A controversy between Papineau and one of his former associates following the events of 1837-8.

GALBRAITH, JOHN S. Edward "Bear" Ellice (*Beaver*, outfit 285, summer, 1954, 26-9). A short biography of a British politician who played an important part in the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company between 1821 and 1863.

GRAY, JOHN MORGAN. The Life and Death of "General" William Putnam (*Ontario History*, XLVI (1), winter, 1954, 3-20). Details of the invasion led by Putnam after the uprising of 1837.

JACKSON, HAROLD MCGILL. *Rogers' Rangers: A History*. Ottawa. 1953 [1954]. \$3.00. Obtainable from the author, Box 59, Aylmer East, Que. To be reviewed later.

JONES, WILBUR D., and VINSON, J. CHAL. British Preparedness and the Oregon Settlement (*Pacific Historical Review*, XXII (4), Nov., 1953, 353-64). A discussion of the role of diplomacy and military preparedness in the Oregon boundary dispute, 1843-8.

LEFEVRE, JEAN-JACQUES. Les Morts de Saint-Eustache en décembre 1837 (*B.R.H.*, LX (1), janv.-fév.-mars 1954, 11-12).

— Officiers et miliciens du district de Québec en 1776 (*B.R.H.*, LIX (4), oct.-nov.-déc. 1953, 225-7).

- The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. XI. Prepared for publication by MILTON W. HAMILTON, Division of Archives and History, ALBERT D. COREY, Director and State Historian. Albany: The University of the State of New York. 1953 [1954]. Pp. viii, 994, illus. \$5.25. Available from the New York State Library, Albany, N.Y. To be reviewed later.
- SIMPSON, FRANCES. Journey for Frances (The *Beaver*, outfit 284, Dec., 1953, 50-4; March, 1954, 12-17; outfit 285, summer, 1954, 12-18). A journal, kept by the bride of Governor George Simpson, of the canoe trip from Montreal to York Factory via the Great Lakes in 1830.
- (5) Canada since 1867
- BELL, GEORGE KENNETH. *Curtain Call*. Toronto: Intaglio Gravure. 1953, Pp. 136 (chiefly illus.), map. \$6.95, \$20 (leather). A photographic account of the Canadian Army in northwest Europe during the Second World War; text in French and English.
- DENNIS, ERIC. Hopes and Fears in Canadian Politics (*Dalhousie Review*, XXXIV (1), spring, 1954, 314-24). A review of the policies and prospects of the Canadian political parties.
- GIBSON, JAMES A. At First Hand: Recollections of a Prime Minister (*Queen's Quarterly*, LXI (1), spring, 1954, 13-20). Recollections of the late Prime Minister King.
- HOWARD, C. S. Diamond Anniversary (*Canadian Banker*, LX (3), autumn, 1953, 5-12). Origin and history of the *Canadian Banker*, which began publication in 1893 as the *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association*.
- JAMIESON, STUART. Labour Problems of an Expanding Economy (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XX (2), May, 1954, 141-56). Post-war labour problems in Canada.
- McIVOR, R. CRAIG, and PANABAKER, JOHN H. Canadian Post-war Monetary Policy, 1946-52 (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XX (2), May, 1954, 207-26).
- McNAUGHT, K. W. CCF: Town and Country (*Queen's Quarterly*, LXI (2), summer, 1954, 213-19). A discussion of urban elements in the development of the CCF party.
- Nova Scotia, Public Archives. *Report of the Board of Trustees for the Year 1952*. Halifax, N.S.: Queen's Printer. 1952. Pp. 66. Appendix B. (pp. 14-66) consists of letters of Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, leader of the Liberal party, 1867-80, and Prime Minister of Canada, 1873-8, to Hon. A. G. Jones, a Nova Scotian anti-Confederate.
- QUINN, HERBERT F. The Rôle of the Liberal Party in Recent Canadian Politics (*Political Science Quarterly*, LXVIII (3), Sept., 1953, 396-418).
- ROY, R. H. The Colonel Goes West (*Canadian Army Journal*, VIII (2), April, 1954, 76-81). An account of the military tour of inspection from Ontario to British Columbia, made by Colonel P. Robertson-Ross in 1872.
- SANDWELL, B. K. After 60 Years (*Canadian Banker*, LX (3), autumn, 1953, 30-40). Changes in Canadian banking in the last sixty years.

IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

- BURKE, JOHN P. A Short History of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers (*Federator*, Christmas, 1953, 25-6). Includes an account of the founding of the three Newfoundland locals, Grand Falls, Corner Brook, and Deer Lake.
- DAIGLE, CYRIAQUE. *Histoire de Saint-Louis-de-Kent: cent cinquante ans de vie paroissiale française en Acadie nouvelle*. Moncton, N.B.: L'Imprimerie Acadienne Limitée. 1953. Pp. 245, illus.
- DIXON, WALTER A. Electrifying New Brunswick (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXVIII (4), April, 1954, 150-9). History and present state of electric power development in New Brunswick.

- FLIGHT, NEVA B. Alas for Three Arms! (*Atlantic Guardian*, XI (4), June, 1954, 18-21). Description and history of an almost deserted Newfoundland fishing village.
- RYAN, DON. Cape Cove [Newfoundland], (*Atlantic Guardian*, XI (3), May, 1954, 5-6).
- Horse Islands (*Atlantic Guardian*, XI (4), June, 1954, 25-7). An isolated fishing community off Newfoundland.
- Lumsden North (*Atlantic Guardian*, XI (1), March, 1954, 5-6). Account of a settlement on the north-east coast of Newfoundland.
- Saint John, N.B., is a City of Contrasts (*Echoes*, no. 214, spring, 1954, 4-5, 22). An account, partly historical, of Saint John.
- SEELEY, SYLVIA. "Clifton" (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLVIII (1), Jan., 1954, 40-4). The former home of Thomas Chandler Haliburton at Windsor, N.S., now the Haliburton Memorial Museum.

(2) The Province of Quebec

- BLAIS, ROGER-J. L'Exode rural (*Carnets viatorien*, XIX (1), janv. 1954, 7-15). This article deals with the problem as it relates to the province of Quebec, and includes a bibliography.
- BRUCHÉSI, J. *The Department of the Secretary of the Province of Quebec*. An address before the Canadian Branch (Province of Quebec), The Chartered Institute of the Secretaries of Joint Stock Companies and Other Public Bodies, Montreal, March 18, 1954. Montreal: The Institute, 507 University Tower, 660 St. Catherine St. W. 1954. Pp. 6 (mimeo.). The origin of the office, some renowned incumbents, and functions.
- COOPER, JOHN IRWIN. *The History of the Montreal Hunt [1826-1953]*. Montreal. 1953. Pp. xviii, 131 (43), illus. \$12.50; limited ed. sold to subscribers.
- DUPRÉ, ALEXANDRE. La Gaspésie de la mer (*Relations*, no 163, juillet 1954, 195-7).
- La Gaspésie, terre et mer (*Relations*, no 162, juin 1954, 173-5).
- FABRE-SURVEYER, E. Ce que fut la rue Dorchester (*Amérique française*, XII (2), juin 1954, 133-41). The author recalls a Montreal street and its inhabitants as they were in the last years of the nineteenth century.
- Raby, Auguste-Jérôme (1745-1822), député de Québec (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, VIII (10), juin 1954, 921-4). An extract from the forthcoming work, *Les Députés au deuxième parlement du Bas Canada*.
- MASTERS, D. C. Lennoxville (*Canadian Forum*, XXXIV (401), June, 1954, 57-8).
- PROVOST, HONORIUS. *La Censive Notre-Dame de Québec*. Cahiers d'Histoire, no 6. Québec: Société historique de Québec. 1954. Pp. 32, illus. 50c.
- ROQUEBRUNE, ROBERT DE. Montréal, il y a cinquante ans (*Action universitaire*, XX (3), avril 1954, 8-11).
- SIMON, PIERRE-HENRI, et BEDEL, MAURICE. Regards sur le Canada français (*Action universitaire*, XX (3), avril 1954, 59-66). Two French writers recount their impressions of French Canada.

(3) The Province of Ontario

- AMBRIDGE, DOUGLAS WHITE. *Frank Harris Anson (1859-1923): Pioneer in the North*. New York, Montreal: Newcomen Society in North America. 1952. Pp. 24, illus. An address, delivered at the "1952 Canadian Dinner" held in Toronto on Oct. 9, 1952, on the founder of the Abitibi Power & Paper Company.
- Blind-River, centre industriel; Blezard-Valley, paroisse agricole. Documents historiques, no 24. Sudbury, Ont.: La Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario. 1952. Pp. 48. \$1.00.
- COLGATE, WILLIAM. *The Honourable William Osgoode, Chief Justice: A Selection from His Letters, 1791-1801, with Some Account of His Life in Canada*. Toronto: Ontario Historical Society. 1954. Pp. 39, illus.
- ed. with intro. and notes. Letters from the Honourable Chief Justice William

- Osgoode: A Selection from His Canadian Correspondence, 1791-1801 (*Ontario History*, XLVI (2), spring, 1954, 77-95).
- DAY, FRANK. *Here and There in Eramosa*. Guelph, Ont.: Leaman Printing Co. 1953. Pp. 199. \$3.00. Obtainable from Frank Day or George F. Day, Rockwood, Ontario.
- GRAY, LESLIE R., ed. From Bethlehem to Fairfield, 1798: Diary of the Brethren John Heckewelder and Benjamin Mortimer, on Their Journey from Bethlehem in Pennsylvania to Fairfield in Upper Canada, from the 30th April to the 22nd May, 1789 (*Ontario History*, XLVI (1), winter, 1954, 37-61; XLVI (2), spring, 1954, 107-32).
- HARKNESS, W. J. Fish and Wildlife Management in Ontario (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLVIII (2), Feb., 1954, 46-63). Background and present state of protective practices in Ontario.
- HARTMAN, MAVIS. Battlefield House at Stoney Creek (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLVIII (6), June, 1954, 229-31). The old Gage farmhouse and the site of the battlefield at Stoney Creek have been preserved as a historic site and museum.
- HOWARD, W. A. Ottawa Celebrates Its 100th Birthday (*Canadian National Magazine*, XL (5), June, 1954, 6-7, 10). A brief outline of some events in Ottawa's history.
- LAURISTON, VICTOR. *Romantic Kent: More than Three Centuries of History, 1626-1952*. Chatham, Ont. 1952. Pp. 784. \$4.75. Obtainable from the City Clerk, Chatham, Ont.
- MOIR, JACQUELINE R. Pioneer Fare in Upper Canada (*Canadian Hospital*, XXX (7), July, 1953, 54-6).
- MURPHY, ROWLEY. Resurrection at Penetanguishene (*Inland Seas*, X (1), spring, 1954, 3-8). The raising of H.M.S. *Tecumseth*, a vessel built in 1814-15 for the Royal Navy.
- Our First Legislative Assembly, 1792 (*Ontario History*, XLVI (1), winter, 1954, 1-2). The account of the Assembly is preceded by a list of the members.
- PIERCE, EDITH CHOWN. *Canadian Glass: A Footnote to History*. Toronto: privately printed. 1954. Pp. ii, 11. The author has collected several pieces of early Canadian glass, and has located information about glass makers and glass workers in Ontario in the nineteenth century.
- PIERCE, JOHN G. Transit Bearing North (*Sylva*, x (1), Jan.-Feb., 1954, 9-17). An account of the surveying of part of the boundary between the Districts of Thunder Bay and Cochrane, Ontario, in the winter of 1952-3.
- Saugeen Valley History*. Taken from Saugeen Valley Conservation Report 1952, published by Ontario Department of Planning and Development, Toronto, 1952. Western Ontario History Nuggets, no. 21. London, Ont.: Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario. 1954. Pp. v, 48 (mimeo.), illus.
- SNIDER, C. H. J. Recovery of H.M.S. *Tecumseth* of the Upper Canada Naval Department, Succeeding His Majesty's Provincial Marine, at Penetanguishene, August 29, 1953 (*Ontario History*, XLVI (2), spring, 1954, 97-105).
- STANLEY, GEORGE F. C. Historic Kingston and Its Defences (*Ontario History*, XLVI (1), winter, 1954, 21-35).
- WAY, RONALD L. Soldiering at Fort Henry (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLVIII (5), May, 1954, 178-99). The story of the men who served as garrison at Fort Henry, Kingston, during the nineteenth century.
- WILLIAMSON, O. T. G. Cobalt and Porcupine (*Beaver*, outfit 284, March, 1954, 44-8). "How the great silver and gold mines of Northern Ontario were discovered and developed."

(4) The Prairie Provinces

- Alberta's Place-Names of Colorful Origin (*Within Our Borders*, VI (18), March 1, 1954, 1, 3).

- BÉDARD, ROMÉO. *History of Montmartre, Sask., 1893-1953*. Montmartre. 1953. Pp. 97 (mimeo.), illus.
- COLLINS, ROBERT. The One-Horse Town That Spawned a Giant (*Maclean's*, LXVII (9), May 1, 1954, 20-1, 60-5). The story of the Wawanesa Mutual Insurance Co., founded at Wawanesa, Man., in 1896.
- DEMPSEY, HUGH A. *Historic Sites of the Province of Alberta*. Edmonton, Alberta: Publication Bureau, Department of Economic Affairs. 1953. Pp. 56, with 5 maps and 30 illustrations. Free.
- FOWLER, ROY L., comp. Chronology of Farming in the Okotoks-High River Area, 1879-1930 (*Alberta Historical Review*, II (2), April, 1954, 21-7).
- FRÉMONT, DONATIEN. Les Français dans l'Alberta (*Amérique française*, XII (1), avril 1954, 29-39).
- GERSHAW, F. W. "Medicine Hat": *Early Days in Southern Alberta*. Medicine Hat. 1954. Pp. 71, illus.
- GIRAUD, MARCEL. Métis Settlement in the North-west Territories (*Saskatchewan History*, VII (1), winter, 1954, 1-16). A translation of a portion of Professor Giraud's work, *Le Métis canadien* (1945).
- HARRINGTON, LYN. Eastern Rockies Forest Conservation Project (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLVIII (4), April, 1954, 129-43). Background, progress, and aims of a federal-provincial conservation scheme.
- HEIDT, ELIZABETH. Folklore in Saskatchewan (*Saskatchewan History*, VII (1), winter, 1954, 18-21).
- HEWLETT, A. E. M. France on the Prairies (*Beaver*, outfit 284, March, 1954, 3-7). An account of a group of French noblemen who attempted to establish themselves in the Canadian West when the country was just opening up for settlement.
- KNOX, OLIVE. Viewing the Eclipse, 1860 (*Beaver*, outfit 285, summer, 1954, 34-7). The trip of three American scientists, from Fort Garry to the lower Saskatchewan.
- MACCULLOCH, JOHN HERRIES. *North Range*. Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers [Toronto: Smithers & Bonellie]. Pp. 191. \$3.00. The story of the author's experiences in Canada, mainly in the West, from his arrival in 1910 to his return to Scotland in 1935.
- RUTHIG, ELIZABETH. Homestead Days in the McCord District (*Saskatchewan History* VII (1), winter, 1954, 22-7). Reminiscences of a pioneer of southern Saskatchewan.
- Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee Committee. *A Letter to the People of Saskatchewan: A Report on Historic Sites*. Regina, Sask.: The Committee, 22 Government Insurance Building. [1954.] Pp. 11, illus.
- TUREK, VICTOR. Poles among the De Meuron Soldiers (*Papers Read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, Series III, no. 9, 1954, 53-68). An account of the first Polish settlers in what is now Manitoba, who arrived with Lord Selkirk in 1817.
- WETTON, C. *The Promised Land*. Lloydminster, Sask.: *Times*. 1953. Pp. 73, illus. The story of the origin of the Barr Colony, the founding of Lloydminster, and its subsequent growth.
- (5) *The Province of British Columbia*
- ANGUS, H. F. Note on the British Columbia Election in June 1952 (*Western Political Quarterly*, V (4), Dec., 1952, 585-91).
- MOIR, GEORGE T. *Sinners and Saints: A True Story of Early Days in the Farthest West, by an Old Timer, Written and Told by Himself*. [Victoria, B.C. 1948.] Pp. vi, 166, illus. \$1.50. Obtainable from A. D. Bridges, 662 Monterey Ave., Victoria, B.C. To be reviewed later.
- NESBITT, JAMES K. Potlatch in the Park (*Beaver*, outfit 284, March, 1954, 8-11). A report on the Indian Potlatch in Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C.
- SAGE, DONALD. Gold Rush Days on the Fraser River (*Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLIV (4), Oct., 1953, 161-5).

(6) Northwest Territories, Yukon, and the Arctic

- BAIRD, P. D. Cumberland Peninsula of Baffin Island (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLVIII (3), March, 1954, 88-97). Report on the 1953 expedition sponsored by the Arctic Institute of North America.
- DESSON, C. A. A Banker Reports from the Far North (*Canadian Banker*, LX (3), autumn, 1953, 67-77). An account of the development of Yellowknife since 1938.
- LEITCH, ADELAIDE. Yellowknife, Town of the Air Age (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLVIII (5), May, 1954, 168-77).
- MURDOCH, P. E. The Old Shipwreck (*Beaver*, outfit 284, 42-3). Speculation on the origin of a ship wrecked on the north shore of Bylot Island, probably prior to 1820.
- PATTERSON, R. M. *The Dangerous River*. London: George Allen and Unwin [Toronto: Thos. Nelson & Sons]. 1954. Pp. 260. \$3.00. The author's explorations of the South Nahanni River basin, N.W.T., in 1927 and 1928-9.
- Rae on the Eskimos (*Beaver*, outfit 284, March, 1954, 38-41). Extracts from a paper read by Dr. John Rae before the Society of Arts seventy-two years ago, dealing with his observations of the Eskimo.
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V. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, June 2-5, 1954. A large attendance was on hand to participate in one of the most successful programmes which the Association has presented in recent years. A tour of historic sites in the Winnipeg area, ending with a visit to Lower Fort Garry, which was sponsored by the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, was much appreciated. Professor Richard Glover was chairman of the Programme Committee.

The first general session was devoted to Canadian history. J. M. S. Careless delivered a paper on "Canadian Nationalism—Immature or Obsolete," and W. J. Eccles's subject was "Frontenac: New Light and a Reappraisal." As usual, a joint session was held with the Canadian Political Science Association to hear addresses from the presidents of the two societies. M. H. Long spoke on "The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada," and Alexander Brady on "A Governing Class and Democracy." Western topics were considered at a joint meeting with the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, when the following papers were delivered: "Crossing the Prairies Two Centuries Ago" by C. P. Wilson, "Le Roi du Nord et sa suite française à Winnipeg" by L. Lamontague, and "English Missionary Records and the History of the Canadian West" by L. G. Thomas. A session on mediaeval history heard T. J. Oleson speak on "The Vikings in America: Some Problems and Some Recent Literature" and Father G. B. Flahiff on "Twelfth Century Critics and Humanists." At the final general session the Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, addressed the members of the Association on the subject, "Some Thoughts on Canadian External Relations." It was demonstrated convincingly that members of the Association welcomed a programme which comprised papers of a non-Canadian nature.

There was general satisfaction, in Winnipeg, over the report of the first year's operation of the Association's Historical Booklet series. Two booklets had been published by May, 1954, and the Treasurer disclosed that the series had been launched with a modest profit. More significantly, the booklets had received favourable attention in the Canadian press, among scholars, and throughout the general public. The objects of the Association had been publicized in a most desirable manner and the series had been responsible for bringing about a gratifying increase in membership. In fact, the Association's membership stood, in the spring of 1954, at the highest figure in its history. The resignation of Professor R. A. Preston, who as first Editor of the series was largely responsible for its initial success, will be regretted, but the continuance of the high standards already set can be assured with Colonel C. P. Stacey's acceptance of the editorship for the coming year. The Association can perform no greater service to Canada than the dissemination of accurate historical knowledge and the promotion of sound and unprejudiced teaching in Canadian history. It was to advance these aims that the Booklet series was commenced a year ago and the prospect of its establishment as a permanent feature of Canadian historical writing will surely be welcomed by all workers in the field.

The new officers of the Association for 1954-5 are: President: Dr. J. J. Talman; Vice-President: Dr. G. F. G. Stanley; Editor of the Canadian Historical Association *Report*: Prof. P. G. Cornell; Councillors: Professor George Buxton, Father A. d'Eschambault, Dr. R. S. Longley, Professor L. G. Thomas. [D. M. L. FARR]

CORRESPONDENCE

By way of an addendum to Professor Sissons' review of Dr. Neatby's best-seller, *So Little for the Mind*,¹ I should like to enter a demurrer. That her book is arresting and provocative there can be no doubt. One of its strengths is an eminently readable and persuasive style; for that very reason, however, Dr. Neatby's "indictment of Canadian education" may appear to be far more convincing than the facts of the situation would allow.

In my view Dr. Neatby has cast off the mantle of historical scholarship in this book, in order to play the role of skilful debater supporting a preconceived intellectual position. A review of the book in a scholarly professional journal might well note the following examples of its many departures from objectivity:

(1) *Quoting out of context to make a point*

On page 155 Dr. Neatby writes, "With emphasis on trivialities in oral composition and a rather obvious lack of concern in some provinces for written work, goes a fear of theory and rules. Saskatchewan indeed surpasses itself in its defiance of law: children study word usage 'from the point of view of appropriateness and vividness, not correctness.'" That is a quotation of part of a sentence from page 12 of the *Elementary School Curriculum, Guide I*, as used in Saskatchewan. Dr. Neatby has chosen to omit entirely the qualification and elaboration which appear in the rest of the sentence and paragraph from which she quotes. Let the paragraph speak for itself. The final sentence especially indicates something far different from the imputed "defiance of law":

The term "structural" as applied to language refers to the manner in which the ideas are expressed, rather than to the ideas themselves. It involves a consideration of word usage (from the point of view of appropriateness and vividness, not correctness), sentence and paragraph sense, and sentence and paragraph structure. The term "mechanical" is applied chiefly to elements of correctness and good form; hence it includes such items as neatness, writing, spelling, punctuation, and grammatical correctness. *It is essential to the success of the whole language programme that the child be helped to see the contribution that a mastery of the structural and mechanical elements of language may make to his ability to express his ideas clearly to others. . . .*

(2) *Apparent misrepresentation*

On page 70 Dr. Neatby quotes a statement by Dr. C. B. Conway, Director of the Division of Tests, Standards and Research in the British Columbia Department of Education, to the effect that his division, in conducting applied research, has tried to avoid "jumping from *unjustifiable* assumptions to *unwarranted* conclusions." The italics are mine: surely that statement, with those two adjectives, is a basic sine qua non of any acceptable research procedure. Yet Dr. Neatby ignores the adjectives, and proceeds to upbraid the

¹CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XXXV (1), March, 1954, pp. 70f.

writer she quotes by commenting: "How this expert carries on applied research without moving from assumptions to conclusions it is difficult to understand. . . ." One would not expect such a reading from a scholar of Dr. Neatby's reputation.

(3) *Little evidence of reference to primary sources*

Miss Neatby says in her preface that she has attempted to formulate conclusions with reference to educational *practices*. Surely the readily available primary source for an objective appraisal of educational practices would be the schools themselves in which those practices go on. Yet Miss Neatby has preferred, apparently, virtually to ignore these primary sources. There is no evidence of any attempt systematically to appraise what actually goes on in a reasonable sampling of Canadian schools. As close as the book ever gets is to quote from letters from individual teachers over such signatures as "Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered." One wonders whether the author, attacking Canada's educationists so acidulously for alleged neglect of children of superior intelligence, is familiar with the first-rate work, for example, being done in special classes for such children in the schools of her own city of Saskatoon.

As a professional educationist myself (although one who scarcely aspires to Dr. Neatby's description of "bright young [man] of neat appearance, pleasant personality, and mediocre intelligence," nor one who has about him the "indefinable air of the super-teacher"), I hesitate to comment in this fashion on *So Little for the Mind*. For it is not the book itself which concerns me—it smacks too much of a reversal of the accepted order of scholarly investigation. Even the book's dust cover says: "Dr. Neatby's method has been to formulate certain conclusions on educational practices and to support them with specific statements." Better *first* to make an objective examination of the evidence, and *then* to formulate conclusions. A matter of concern to all professional educationists, however, must be the almost enthusiastic reception the book has had in many quarters. Clearly a major task for the schools is to establish better communications with the public, so that the public will have sounder criteria upon which to judge the work of their schools—and, incidentally, sounder criteria for appraising any other *So Little for the Mind* which might come along.

G. E. FLOWER

Canadian Education Association

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

E. R. ADAIR, who has recently retired as Professor of History at McGill University, has contributed many articles to the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* and other historical journals.

D. J. McDOUGALL, who is Professor of History at the University of Toronto, has contributed an annual review article on Commonwealth affairs to the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* since 1946.

L. A. VIGNERAS, formerly a member of the University of Maine Faculty, is doing research at the Archives General de Indias. He has written a number of articles in American and Spanish publications.

H. H. WALSH is Associate Professor of Cultural History in the Faculty of Divinity of McGill University and author of *The Concordat of 1801: A Study in the Problem of Nationalism in the Relations of Church and State* (1933).

